

BATTLE FOR THE PRESIDENCY

Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

The World's Daily Newspaper

R

London, Saturday-Sunday, September 12-13, 1998

No. 35,934

Clinton Vows He Will Stay and Fight

'I Sinned,' He Says In Apology That Includes Lewinsky

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton declared somberly Friday that "I have sinned," in a speech so emotional and abject — including his first public apology to Monica Lewinsky and her family — that it brought a group of clergymen to their feet.

The address was one of the most extraordinary ever given by this or any other president. "I can think of no comparable speech to this," said Charles Jones, a former president of the American Political Science Association.

Reading from notes Mr. Clinton said he had scribbled down late the night before, he said his was a "broken spirit."

In slow, measured words, he added: "I don't think there's a fancy way to say that I have sinned. It is important to me that everyone who has been hurt know that the sorrow I feel is genuine — first and most important, my family, my friends, my staff, my cabinet, Monica Lewinsky and her family, and the American people. I have asked all for their forgiveness."

Speaking to religious leaders gathered for an annual meeting with the president, he also described a road map he had drawn for repentance and spiritual rebuilding.

"To be forgiven, more than sorrow is required, at least two more things," he said. "First, genuine repentance, a determination to change and to repair breaches of my own making. I have repented."

"Second, what my Bible calls a broken spirit, an understanding that I must have God's help to be the person that I want to be, a willingness to give the very forgiveness I seek, a renunciation of the pride and the anger which cloud judgment, lead people to excuse and compare and to blame and complain."

In many ways, the speech included all the touchstones and evident contriteness that some advisers hoped would be in his Aug. 17 address to the nation.

At that time, he acknowledged having had an "inappropriate" affair with Ms. Lewinsky. But he also harshly attacked the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, for mounting a four-year investigation of the president. That, said political opponents and some supporters, showed a failure by Mr. Clinton to accept fully that the fault was his and that blame could not be placed elsewhere.

But even one of his closest friends and spiritual advisers, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, acknowledged Friday that in some ways the speech might have come too late.

"Had it been projected as little as two weeks ago," Mr. Jackson said on CNN, "it would have made a profound difference." Then he added, "It can still make a profound difference."

Mr. Clinton, while saying the Lewinsky matter would always serve "as a caution light in my life," added that "it is very important that our nation move forward."

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President and Mrs. Clinton at a memorial service Friday for victims of terrorism.

A Power Vacuum at the Top

By David E. Sanger
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Washington has been so distracted by President Bill Clinton's troubles, by the slow-motion collapse of the Russian government and by the continuing meltdown of Asia that few in the U.S. capital have had time to consider what could set off the next wave of economic turmoil.

So it was no accident that after a cabinet meeting late Thursday afternoon, Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin appeared on television to underscore that the president is "intensely focused" on world economic events, even while

he fights for political survival and apologizes for what Mr. Rubin termed "terrible mistakes."

Mr. Rubin made an oblique argument that keeping the president in his job was essential, saying this is "a time when the world has only one leader who understands these issues."

This week, Washington and Wall Street, two universes rarely in sync, got a taste of what may be coming.

The images on Wednesday of Kenneth Starr's boxes of evidence landing on Capitol Hill helped propel the U.S. markets to another

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Public Is Given Details of Report, And a Rebuttal

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — The titanic struggle over the presidency was engaged Friday after the House of Representatives made public the report by the independent counsel accusing President Bill Clinton of impeachable offenses, and the president mounted a determined two-track defense and vowed not to resign.

With details of his relationship with Monica Lewinsky flashed around the world on television and the Internet, Mr. Clinton issued his most striking public apology yet, and his legal team described the allegations as nothing more than "the details of a private sexual relationship, told in graphic details with the intent to embarrass."

But prosecutors argued that they were providing the graphic detail to prove that Mr. Clinton lied before the grand jury.

The 445-page report from the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, alleges that Mr. Clinton "engaged in a pattern of conduct that was inconsistent with his constitutional duty to faithfully execute the laws."

Strikingly, the report from the independent counsel, whose inquiry began four years ago with an examination of a complicated land deal called Whitewater

A partial text of the Starr report is on Page 4. The text of Mr. Clinton's rebuttal is on Page 5.

and traveled to investigations involving the White House staff office and the administration's use of FBI files, finds no offense by the president in any of those areas that would merit impeachment, according to early examinations of the report's content. (Page 3)

The transmission of the document to Congress began a process that could lead to impeachment.

The document asserted that Mr. Clinton was guilty of criminal charges of perjury, witness tampering and obstruction of justice.

It also charges him with abuse of his presidential powers, not a criminal violation but a possible basis for impeachment.

Mr. Clinton said that he had instructed his lawyers "to mount a vigorous defense using all available, appropriate arguments."

His spokesman, Michael McCurry, said that Mr. Clinton "absolutely" intended to remain in office.

White House lawyers, moving quickly to stem what could be critical political damage, issued a 73-page response even before seeing the Starr document. It said, in effect, that the president had made mistakes and misled some people, but had committed no impeachable offense.

The White House sent copies of its response to leaders of Congress.

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The Gloom Darkens For Japan

Economy Slipped At a Faster Pace; Nikkei Falls 5.11%

By Sheryl WuDunn
New York Times Service

TOKYO — In the starkest sign yet of the depth of Japan's recession, the government said Friday that the economy contracted in the second quarter by an annual rate of 3.3 percent, nearly twice as steep a fall as most economists had expected.

This marked the first time that Japan's economy had contracted for three consecutive quarters since the government began keeping such statistics in 1955. Moreover, the data suggest that the core of the economy slid even more rapidly than it did earlier in the year.

"The Japanese economy is probably about to go through its darkest moment," said Toshiaki Sakai, Japan's top economic official, at a press conference after the figures were announced. "Tough times will continue."

That spells trouble for other crisis-hit countries in Asia and elsewhere. As the world's second-largest economy, Japan plays a major role in influencing the trend of growth in the global economy.

Even before the report was released, stocks in Tokyo spiraled downward in their biggest single-day decline so far this year on the busiest day of trading. The benchmark Nikkei 225-stock index plunged 5.11 percent from its previous close to end at 13,916.98, down 749.05 points, mainly spurred by doubts about the econ-

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The Dollar			
	Friday 4 P.M.	previous close	
DM	1.6943	1.684	
Yen	130.675	134.4	
FF	5.679	5.648	
Pound	1.6728	1.6903	
The Dow			
	Friday close	percent change	
	179.98	7.795.50	+2.36%
S&P 500			
	Friday close	percent change	
	28.87	1,009.06	+2.95%
Nasdaq			
	Friday close	percent change	
	56.32	1,641.85	+3.55%

Newsstand Prices			
	1,000 BD	Melita	55 c
Bahrain	1,000 BD	Melita	55 c
Cyprus	1,000 BD	Melita	55 c
Denmark	14.00 DKr	Oman	10.00 QR
Finland	12.00 FM	Qatar	10.00 QR
Gibraltar	2.00 GPs	Rep. Ireland	IR £1.00
Great Britain	£0.90	Saudi Arabia	10 SR
Egypt	£0.50	U.A.E.	10.00 Dh
Jordan	1,250 JD	U.S. NA (Eur)	\$1.20
Kenya	K SH 180	U.S. NA (Eur)	\$1.20
Kuwait	700 Fils	Zimbabwe	Zim \$40.00

A Country Troubled About Values

For Many Americans, Scandal Is a Symptom of Moral Decline

By Richard Morin
and David S. Broder
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — For many Americans, the White House scandal is just the latest symptom of broad and deep moral decline. Everywhere they look — in the newspaper, on television, in their own neighborhoods and even within their own families — they see eroding values.

An in-depth study of the values Americans espouse suggests why President Bill Clinton's extramarital dalliance with Monica Lewinsky angers and upsets so many people — and why the country has been so reluctant to punish him politically for behavior it considers wrong.

On one hand, Mr. Clinton has confronted the country with a sample of what three out of four of his constituents see as a dangerous decline in the values on display in the national culture. They

link the White House escapade to their broader worries about the lack of respect for tradition and authority, to the coarse content of the movies, television and music, to personal dishonesty and sexual promiscuity.

At the same time, Mr. Clinton has become a test case of whether this generation of Americans wants to sit in judgment on each other or be willing to live and let live.

More than 7 in 10 said adultery was unacceptable and "should not be tolerated." Yet when it comes to Mr. Clinton, what the public says and what it means are two different things: Fewer than half of those who said adultery "should not be tolerated" said Mr. Clinton's affair with Ms. Lewinsky was an important matter. Twice as many said it was important whether he had lied about it or encouraged Ms. Lewinsky to lie.

The survey, conducted by The Washington Post in collaboration with Har-

vard University and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, was virtually complete before the president's Aug. 17 speech acknowledging the widely suspected relationship with Ms. Lewinsky.

Mr. Clinton's actions are not viewed in isolation. They come at a time when many Americans are also upset by what they regard as other threatening social trends, from alcoholism to sexual harassment to homosexuality to homelessness.

Coming to judgment on Mr. Clinton requires resolving a complex of considerations. The survey found that 9 out of 10 Americans consider it unacceptable for a married person to have a sexual affair. The condemnation for that behavior was far stronger than for bearing a child out of wedlock, marijuana smoking or same-sex marriage.

Only one respondent in five said that

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For First Time, Mrs. Clinton Emphasizes Her Forgiveness



Hillary Rodham Clinton, appearing with the president, declared her pride and admiration for her husband. Her spokeswoman said the first lady "stresses her support, her love and her forgiveness" for her husband. Previous statements expressed love and support, but this was the first to use the word "forgiveness." Page 3.

Dismay and Anger in Europe

Whether they felt he should stay or go, newspapers across the Continent expressed concern and anger over the situation in Washington. Some were fearful over the worldwide impact of impeachment or resignation, while others called on the president to step down. Page 7.

How to Get It on the Internet

Internet links to the report by Kenneth Starr and the White House rebuttal are available at the IHT web site: www.ihf.com. The reports and related text can also be found at www.washingtonpost.com and at www.nytimes.com.

Primakov Wins Strong Duma Support



Yevgeni Primakov awaiting vote.

Prime Minister Pleads for Time on Economy

By Daniel Williams
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The Russian Parliament overwhelmingly approved Yevgeni Primakov as prime minister on Friday after hearing him propose two Soviet-era "apparatchiks" for key economic posts.

Mr. Primakov promised to end unbridled capitalism, but also to continue with free-market reforms.

In a speech before the vote in the State Duma, the lower house, Mr. Primakov pleaded that he needed some time to work out a detailed economic plan.

Nonetheless, his first two appointments indicated a sharp turn away from the free-market approach that started to dominate Russian economic policy

after the collapse of the Soviet system in December 1991.

The vote was 315 for Mr. Primakov and 63 against, with 15 abstentions. Communists and conservative, rural-oriented parties were joined by economic liberals in endorsing Mr. Primakov.

The confirmation was swift. The entire Duma session lasted less than two hours.

There was a reason for the rush. Russia is in swift decline, with tens of thousands of citizens deprived of access to savings in bankrupt banks, still others losing jobs as businesses close and with shoppers clearing stores of foodstuffs.

The ruble is in wild gyrations and

See RUSSIA, Page 7



Fear Grows in Kosovo Over Trapped Refugees

Reuters
DECANI, Serbia — Buses filled with women, children and old men left Friday from the western Kosovo town of Istic, where 40,000 ethnic Albanian refugees had been trapped for two days by Serbs, witnesses said.

There were no fighting-age men on the buses, suggesting that Serbian security forces were separating suspected members of the Kosovo Liberation Army from their families, as happened in other villages in rebellious Kosovo over recent weeks.

Journalists who tried to gain access to Istic were blocked by Serbian police units, as were representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Some people saw this as an "ominous sign."

A Western diplomatic observer based in nearby Pec said he reached Istic by a back road early Friday and found that many of the thousands of people who had been there a day earlier appeared to have left.

"If there are 7,000 people there today I'd be surprised," he said. "The Serbs say they immediately dispersed the refugees in coaches. I didn't see them leaving in coaches. I saw them walking in columns, old women dragging suitcases. It was a pathetic sight."

"As for the men, there were some in groups, separated out as KLA suspects. The wounded were separated, too. The Serbs said they were fighters."

In a conflicting account, Fernando del Mundo, a spokesman for the UN refugee agency said that he was in Istic during the day but had not seen people being separated into groups.

He said he saw several men walking back to their villages.

Mr. del Mundo said the Kosovo governor, Veljko Odalovic, announced on Thursday that an aid center was being opened in Istic for refugees. Two trucks came with bread, he added.

"No one would touch it," Mr. del Mundo said. "So they dumped it at the Mother Theresa warehouse in Istic, where two cameras filmed anyone who came to collect it. One old man, named Bardosh Gashi, told me: 'I saw children who had collected the bread go back to their villages. They were shouted at. The Serbs burn our houses, give us bread, and then try to kill us.'"

Red Cross officials evacuated seven wounded people from the refugee column on Thursday. UN officials said there were six fresh graves of refugees in Istic.

Police units in trucks and private vehicles streamed towards the Istic area from the direction of Decani and Pec and the area seemed sealed off to outsiders. Reporters who tried to approach Istic from the east were stopped in Celnep.

Even though Serbian officers vowed Thursday that all men, women and children were free to return to their homes, none were observed in Celopek, a dismal, largely destroyed village 15 kilometers (9 miles) east of Istic.

Smoke was still rising from houses in other villages in the area.

Small numbers of refugees were observed walking or sitting along the main highway heading east from Pec towards Pristina and south from Pec toward Djakovica.

It was exactly a week ago that Serbian security forces surrounded thousands of ethnic Albanian refugees in Ponorac, separated hundreds of fighting-age men from their families and took them away for interrogation.

They later released most of the men but detained about 60, according to ethnic Albanian authorities.

**Russian Sailor, 19,
Kills 8 in Submarine**

The Associated Press
MOSCOW — A 19-year-old sailor on a Russian nuclear submarine seized a machine gun and killed at least eight crewmembers before barricading himself in the torpedo compartment of the vessel, officials said Friday.

Alexander Kuzminykh, a conscript who has been in the navy since last year, went on a shooting spree before dawn on the submarine in Severomorsk, near the city of Murmansk, the Defense Ministry said in a statement.

A standoff continued into the late afternoon, the statement added.

The Inter-Tass news agency put the death toll at nine. The discrepancy could not be immediately clarified.

The craft is designed to carry cruise missiles and torpedoes.

Russia Lags on Some Soviet-Debt Payments

Reuters
MOSCOW — Russia, in the throes of political and economic crises, said Friday it missed part of its interest payments on Soviet-era debt to some members of the Paris Club of country creditors.

But it vowed to honor all other sovereign debt payments, although some analysts said default remained.

The missed payment to Germany and some other countries, the latest blow to Russia's reputation on international capital markets.



A wounded Kosovo refugee waiting in a field Friday outside the village of Istic, among 40,000 ethnic Albanians trapped by Yugoslav units.

Kohl Challenger Casts Doubt On Yeltsin's Ability to Rule

**By John Schmid
International Herald Tribune**

FRANKFURT — Gerhard Schroeder, the challenger to Chancellor Helmut Kohl in this month's German election, took the unusual step Friday of casting public doubt on the ability of President Boris Yeltsin to maintain stability in Russia.

Asked if the embattled Mr. Yeltsin should resign amid Russia's economic and social turmoil, Mr. Schroeder told a German radio program, "I think that he can no longer provide sufficient stability as he did in past years. But I do not want to offer public advice."

German diplomats said the comment took them by surprise. Major voices among Russia's closest Western allies have been careful to be supportive of Mr. Yeltsin.

If Mr. Schroeder is elected in the

Sept. 27 vote, as polls suggest, he will need to work closely with Mr. Yeltsin because of Germany's critical political and economic bonds to Russia.

The comment seemed at odds with Mr. Schroeder's previous strategy, which has been to "guarantee" foreign policy continuity with Germany's closest partners.

Other officials probably concur that Mr. Yeltsin appears to be losing a power struggle in Russia — but they would avoid saying so in public, diplomats said.

"I think Schroeder simply said what he read in the newspapers," said one Bonn diplomat. "He did not say anything wrong but as a statesman, he should not say that."

With the German election just over two weeks away, most observers reckon that Mr. Schroeder had domestic politics in mind rather than foreign affairs.

Mr. Schroeder and other leaders in the opposition Social Democratic Party have castigated Mr. Kohl in the past week as the "sauna buddy" of Mr. Yeltsin, saying that Mr. Kohl shares blame for Russia's crisis because Mr. Kohl has put his chumminess with Mr. Yeltsin above the need to press for reforms in Russia.

"By going after Yeltsin, he is really going after Kohl," said one Bonn official.

Mr. Kohl, by contrast, has presented himself to German voters as a crisis manager who is best fit to help shape international policy in globally troubled times.

Volkswagen: \$12 Million Goes to Slave Labor Fund

**By Edmund L. Andrews
New York Times Service**

FRANKFURT — Faced with a new lawsuit over the use of slave labor during World War II, Volkswagen AG announced plans Friday to set up a fund of 20 million marks (about \$12 million) to compensate surviving workers.

The fund will be overseen by Shimon Peres, a former prime minister of Israel, according to people working with the company.

The move comes at a time when U.S. lawyers have filed class-action suits over slave labor against Volkswagen and many other German industrial companies.

Most of the companies acknowledge that they used slave laborers during Hitler's Third Reich, but they say they were forced to do so by the government.

It is considered unlikely that Volkswagen's decision will persuade people to drop their class-action claims. A suit filed last month proposed to recapture a share of each company's accumulated profits that can be attributed to slave labor. If the suit against the companies is successful, it would mean compensation in the billions of dollars.

Volkswagen, along with most other German companies, continues to deny any legal responsibility for its actions during the Hitler years.

But Volkswagen announced nearly two months ago that it would create a compensation fund.

At the time, survivors' groups had not filed their lawsuit against Volkswagen but were threatening to do so.

Company executives warned that they did not want to be pinned down to precise numbers on the size of the new fund. But they estimate that between 1,000 and 2,000 forced laborers are still alive and that a fund of \$12 million would be enough to provide compensation.

The total would work out to an average payout of about \$12,000 or less for each survivor.

But the most dramatic revelation on Friday was the role of Mr. Peres, who presided over many of the peace talks with Palestinians before being defeated in 1996 by Benjamin Netanyahu.

Mr. Peres, according to a person who spoke on the condition of anonymity, will head an independent board that will evaluate all the claims and decide how much to pay each survivor.

The pressure on Volkswagen and the other German companies that are being sued has increased since Switzerland's three biggest banks reached a \$1.25 billion settlement with Jewish organizations last month over money and gold that belonged to Holocaust victims and was never returned.

On the issue of slave labor, a group of

lawyers in New York and Munich has sued all the German car manufacturers, including BMW and Daimler-Benz; electronic companies, including Siemens; steel companies, including Krupp; and chemical companies.

"This will not get Volkswagen off the hook in a legal sense," said Rabbi Abraham Cooper, associate dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, a Jewish rights organization in Los Angeles that was active in lawsuits against Swiss banks. But he said it was "an important step because it will put pressure on the BMWs and all the other companies to stop hiding behind legal objections."

BRIEFLY

Bosnians to Vote On Republic Rule

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — For the second time since their devastating war ended, Bosnians will start voting Saturday for national leaders. The outcome of the two-day election is most likely to decide how well the ethnically divided country will adhere to its peace agreement.

Western powers, led by the United States and the European Union, hope ethnic-driven political parties that waged the civil war will lose support and fade away.

Ethnic nationalist sentiments remain strong among Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats, and the outcome of major election contests involving their candidates were uncertain as campaigning ended Thursday. (Reuters)

Intellectuals Back Fugitive Terrorist

PARIS — The German Greens leader, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, and several French and German intellectuals issued a high-profile plea on Friday in favor of an accused terrorist, Hans-Joachim Klein, seized this week after 22 years on the run.

In a letter published on the front page of Le Monde, the six confessed to having helped him throughout his years as a fugitive from both the police and from vengeance by terrorists he denounced in a 1979 book.

Mr. Klein, 50, was arrested on Tuesday in a Normandy village. He was jailed pending extradition to Germany. (AFP)

British Release 7 In Ulster Conflict

BELFAST — The British government freed seven convicted IRA and pro-British militants on Friday, the first paramilitary inmates to win parole under terms of the Northern Ireland peace accord.

Three members of the outlawed Ulster Defense Association, the largest paramilitary group rooted in hard-line Protestant areas, were the first to walk through the gates.

Dan Annesley, Matt McCormick and Gary Hall covered their faces. Later, three members of the Irish Republican Army walked free through the same gates — Sean McGuigan, Louis McNally and Gerard Magee. (AP)

TRAVEL UPDATE

Strikes at 2 Airlines May Be at an End

NEW YORK (NYT, Reuters) — Northwest Airlines and its pilots union reached a tentative agreement Friday to end a 13-day strike that has disrupted travel in the Midwest and South, and in Toronto, 2,100 striking pilots are close to ending their strike at Air Canada.

Northwest will not begin flying again until the pilots accept the pact, airline officials said, while the union said its 17-member governing council would meet in Minneapolis on Saturday to decide whether to approve the agreement.

Until then, the pilots would remain on strike. The airline has said it will take 8

to 10 days after the pilots agree to return to work before it can resume its full schedule. The strike has been the longest against an airline since 1989.

Air Canada said that when the deal with its pilots was ratified it would begin phasing in operations within 24 hours. Service would resume to most destinations within three to four days once aircraft are repositioned and crews flown in to operate flights.

Air Canada's planes were grounded last week when talks failed over pilots' demands for higher wages.

The tropical storm designated Frances pummeled the Gulf Coast from Texas to Louisiana with high tides and heavy rain Friday, closing schools and forcing thousands of evacuations.

WEATHER

Europe

City	Today	Low	High	Temp
London	14/17	10/14	17/20	14
Paris	13/18	9/13	18/23	13
Rome	15/22	11/16	22/27	15
Madrid	16/23	12/17	23/28	16
Athens	17/24	13/18	24/29	17
Amsterdam	12/16	8/11	16/21	12
Brussels	13/17	9/12	17/22	13
Frankfurt	14/18	10/14	18/23	14
Hamburg	13/17	9/12	17/22	13
Munich	14/18	10/14	18/23	14
Vienna	15/22	11/16	22/27	15
Zurich	14/18	10/14	18/23	14

Forecast for Sunday through Tuesday, as provided by AccuWeather.

City	Sun	Mon	Tue
London	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy
Paris	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy
Rome	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy
Madrid	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy
Athens	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy
Amsterdam	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy
Brussels	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy
Frankfurt	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy
Hamburg	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy
Munich	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy
Vienna	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy
Zurich	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy	Partly cloudy

Asia

City	Today	Low	High	Temp
Tokyo	14/17	10/14	17/20	14
Seoul	13/18	9/13	18/23	13
Beijing	15/22	11/16	22/27	15
Manila	16/23	12/17	23/28	16
Singapore	17/24	13/18	24/29	17
Bangkok	18/25	14/19	25/30	18
Hong Kong	19/26	15/20	26/31	19
Shanghai	20/27	16/21	27/32	20
Guangzhou	21/28	17/22	28/33	21
Chengdu	22/29	18/23	29/34	22
Yokohama	23/30	19/24	30/35	23
Osaka	24/31	20/25	31/36	24

North America

City	Today	Low	High	Temp
New York	14/17	10/14	17/20	14
Los Angeles	13/18	9/13	18/23	13
Chicago	15/22	11/16	22/27	15
San Francisco	16/23	12/17	23/28	16
London	17/24	13/18	24/29	17
Paris	18/25	14/19	25/30	18
Rome	19/26	15/20	26/31	19
Madrid	20/27	16/21	27/32	20
Athens	21/28	17/22	28/33	21
Amsterdam	22/29	18/23	29/34	22
Brussels	23/30	19/24	30/35	23
Frankfurt	24/31	20/25	31/36	24
Hamburg	25/32	21/26	32/37	25
Munich	26/33	22/27	33/38	26
Vienna	27/34	23/28	34/39	27
Zurich	28/35	24/29	35/40	28

South America

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Battle for the Presidency/ The Special Prosecutor's Report

The Associated Press
Following is an excerpt from the narrative section of the independent counsel's report to the House of Representatives. Readers should note that this excerpt contains sexually explicit passages.

Relationship With Monica Lewinsky

A. Introduction

This Referral presents substantial and credible information that President Clinton criminally obstructed the judicial process, first in a sexual harassment lawsuit in which he was the defendant and then in a grand jury investigation. The opening section of the Narrative provides an overview of the object of the President's cover-up, the sexual relationship between the President and Ms. Lewinsky. Subsequent sections recount the evolution of the relationship chronologically, including the sexual contacts, the President's efforts to get Ms. Lewinsky a job, Ms. Lewinsky's subpoena in Jones v. Clinton, the role of Vernon Jordan, the President's discussions with Ms. Lewinsky about her affidavit and deposition, the President's deposition testimony in Jones, the President's attempts to coach a potential witness in the harassment case, the President's false and misleading statements to aides and to the American public after the Lewinsky story became public, and, finally, the President's testimony before a federal grand jury.

B. Evidence Establishing Nature of Relationship

1. Physical Evidence

Physical evidence conclusively establishes that the President and Ms. Lewinsky had a sexual relationship. After reaching an immunity and cooperation agreement with the Office of the Independent Counsel on July 28, 1998, Ms. Lewinsky turned over a navy blue dress that she said she had worn during a sexual encounter with the President on February 23, 1997. According to Ms. Lewinsky, she noticed stains on the garment the next time she took it from her closet. From their location, she surmised that the stains were the President's semen.

Initial tests revealed that the stains are in fact semen. Based on that result, the OIC asked the President for a blood sample. After requesting and being given assurances that the OIC had an evidentiary basis for making the request, the President agreed. In the White House Map Room on August 3, 1998, the White House Physician drew a vial of blood from the President in the presence of an FBI agent and an OIC attorney. By conducting the two standard DNA comparison tests, the FBI Laboratory concluded that the President was the source of the DNA obtained from the dress. According to the more sensitive RFLP test, the genetic markers on the semen, which match the President's DNA, are characteristic of "one out of 7.87 trillion Caucasians."

In addition to the dress, Ms. Lewinsky provided what she said were answering machine tapes containing brief messages from the President, as well as several gifts that the President had given her.

2. Ms. Lewinsky's Statements

Ms. Lewinsky was extensively debriefed about her relationship with the President. For the initial evaluation of her credibility, she submitted to a detailed "proffer" interview on July 27, 1998. After entering into a cooperation agreement, she was questioned over the course of approximately 15 days. She also provided testimony under oath on three occasions: twice before the grand jury, and, because of the personal and sensitive nature of particular topics, once in a deposition. In addition, Ms. Lewinsky worked with prosecutors and investigators to create an 11-page chart that chronologically lists her contacts with President Clinton, including meetings, phone calls, gifts, and messages. Ms. Lewinsky twice verified the accuracy of the chart under oath.

In the evaluation of experienced prosecutors and investigators, Ms. Lewinsky has provided truthful information. She has not falsely incriminated the President. Harming him, she has testified, is "the last thing in the world I want to do."

Moreover, the OIC's immunity and cooperation agreement with Ms. Lewinsky includes safeguards crafted to ensure that she tells the truth. Court-ordered immunity and written immunity agreements often provide that the witness can be prosecuted only for false statements made during the period of cooperation, and not for the underlying offense. The OIC's agreement goes further, providing that Ms. Lewinsky will lose her immunity altogether if the government can prove to a federal district judge — by a preponderance of the evidence, not the higher standard of beyond a reasonable doubt — that she lied. Moreover, the agreement provides that, in the course of such a prosecution, the United States could introduce into evidence the statements made by Ms. Lewinsky during her cooperation. Since Ms. Lewinsky acknowledged in her proffer interview and in depositions that she violated the law, she has a strong incentive to tell the truth: If she did not, it would be relatively straightforward to void the immunity agreement and prosecute her, using her own admissions against her.

3. Ms. Lewinsky's Confidants

Between 1995 and 1998, Ms. Lewinsky confided in 11 people about her relationship with the President. All have been questioned by the OIC, most before a federal grand jury. Andrew Bleier, Catherine Alday Davis, Neysa Erbland, Kathleen Estep, Deborah Fineman, Dr. Irene Kassoria, Marcia Lewis, Ashley Raines, Linda Tripp, Natalie Ungvár, and Dale Young. Ms. Lewinsky told most of these confidants about events in her relationship with the President as they occurred, sometimes in considerable detail.

Some of Ms. Lewinsky's statements about the relationship were contemporaneously memorialized. These include deleted email recovered from her home computer and her Pentagon computer, email messages retained by two of the recipients, tape recordings of some of

Ms. Lewinsky's conversations with Ms. Tripp, and notes taken by Ms. Tripp during some of their conversations. The Tripp notes, which have been extensively corroborated, refer specifically to places, dates, and times of physical contacts between the President and Ms. Lewinsky.

Everyone in whom Ms. Lewinsky confided in detail believed she was telling the truth about her relationship with the President. Ms. Lewinsky told her psychologist, Dr. Irene Kassoria, about the affair shortly after it began. Thereafter, she related details of sexual encounters soon after they occurred (sometimes calling from her White House office). Ms. Lewinsky showed no indications of delusional thinking, according to Dr. Kassoria, and Dr. Kassoria had no doubts whatsoever about the truth of what Ms. Lewinsky told her. Ms. Lewinsky's friend Catherine Alday Davis testified that she believed Ms. Lewinsky's accounts of the sexual relationship with the President because "I trusted in the way she had confided in me on other things in her life.... I just trusted the relationship, so I trusted her." Dale Young, a friend in whom Ms. Lewinsky confided starting in mid-1996, testified:

[I]f she was going to lie to me, she would have said to me, "Oh, he calls me all the time. He does wonderful things. He can't wait to see me."... [S]he would have embellished the story. You know, she wouldn't be telling me, "He told me he'd call me, I waited home all weekend and I didn't do anything and he didn't call and then he didn't call for two weeks."

4. Documents

In addition to her remarks and email in friends, Ms. Lewinsky wrote a number of documents, including letters and draft letters to the President. Among these documents are (i) papers found in a consensual search of her apartment; (ii) papers that Ms. Lewinsky turned over pursuant to her cooperation agreement, including a calendar with dates circled when she met or talked by telephone with the President in 1996 and 1997; and (iii) files recovered from Ms. Lewinsky's computers at home and at the Pentagon.

5. Consistency and Corroboration

The details of Ms. Lewinsky's many statements have been checked, cross-checked, and corroborated. When negotiations with Ms. Lewinsky in January and February 1998 did not culminate in an agreement, the OIC proceeded with a comprehensive investigation, which generated a great deal of probative evidence.

In July and August 1998, circumstances brought more direct and compelling evidence to the investigation. After the courts rejected a novel privilege claim, Secret Service officers and agents testified about their observations of the President and Ms. Lewinsky in the White House. Ms. Lewinsky agreed to submit to a proffer interview (previous negotiations had deadlocked over her refusal to do so), and, after assessing her credibility in that session, the OIC entered into a cooperation agreement with her. Pursuant to the cooperation agreement, Ms. Lewinsky turned over the dress that proved to bear traces of the President's semen. And the President, who had spurned six invitations to testify, finally agreed to provide his account to the grand jury. In that sworn testimony, he acknowledged "inappropriate intimate contact" with Ms. Lewinsky.

Because of the fashion in which the investigation had unfolded, in sum, a massive quantity of evidence was available to test and verify Ms. Lewinsky's statements during her proffer interview and her later cooperation. Consequently, Ms. Lewinsky's statements have been corroborated to a remarkable degree. Her detailed statements to the grand jury and the OIC in 1998 are consistent with statements to her confidants dating back to 1995, documents that she created, and physical evidence. Moreover, her accounts generally match the testimony of White House staff members; the testimony of Secret Service agents and officers; and White House records showing Ms. Lewinsky's entries and exits, the President's whereabouts, and the President's telephone calls.

C. Sexual Contacts

1. The President's Accounts

In the Jones deposition on January 17, 1998, the President denied having had "a sexual affair," "sexual relations," or a "sexual relationship" with Ms. Lewinsky. He noted that "[t]here are no curtains on the Oval Office, there are no curtains or blinds that can close [on] the windows in my private dining room," and added: "I have done everything I could to avoid the kind of questions you are asking me here today...."

During the deposition, the President's attorney, Robert Bennett, sought to limit questioning about Ms. Lewinsky. Mr. Bennett told Judge Susan Webber Wright that Ms. Lewinsky had executed "an affidavit which [Ms. Jones's lawyers] are in possession of saying that there is absolutely no sex of any kind in any manner, shape or form, with President Clinton." In a subsequent colloquy with Judge Wright, Mr. Bennett declared that as a result of "preparation of [President Clinton] for this deposition, the witness is fully aware of Ms. Lewinsky's affidavit."

The President did not dispute his legal representative's assertion that the President and Ms. Lewinsky had had "absolutely no sex of any kind in any manner, shape or form," nor did he dispute the implication that Ms. Lewinsky's affidavit, in denying "a sexual relationship," meant that there was "absolutely no sex of any kind in any manner, shape or form."

In subsequent questioning by his attorney, President Clinton testified under oath that Ms. Lewinsky's affidavit was "absolutely true."

b. Grand Jury Testimony

Testifying before the grand jury on August 17, 1998, seven months after his Jones deposition, the President acknowledged "inappropriate intimate contact" with Ms. Lewinsky but maintained that his January deposition testimony was accurate. In his account, "what began as a friendship [with Ms. Lewinsky] came to include this conduct."

He said he remembered "meeting her, or having my first real conversation with her during the government shutdown in November of '95." According to the President, the inappropriate contact occurred later (after Ms. Lewinsky's internship had ended), "in early 1996 and once in early 1997."

The President refused to answer questions about the precise nature of his intimate contacts with Ms. Lewinsky, but he did explain his earlier denials. As to his denial in the Jones deposition that he and Ms. Lewinsky had had a "sexual relationship," the President maintained that there can be no sexual relationship without sexual intercourse, regardless of what other sexual activities may transpire. He stated that "most ordinary Americans" would embrace this distinction.

The President also maintained that none of his sexual contacts with Ms. Lewinsky constituted "sexual relations" within a specific definition used in the Jones deposition. Under that definition:

[A] person engages in "sexual relations" when the person knowingly engages in or causes — contact with the genitalia, anus, groin, breast, inner thigh, or buttocks of any person with an intent to arouse or gratify the sexual desire of any person.... "Contact" means intentional touching, either directly or through clothing.

According to what the President testified was his understanding, this definition "covers contact by the person being deposited with the enumerated areas, if the contact is done with an intent to arouse or gratify," but it does not cover oral sex performed on the person being deposited. He testified:

[I]f the defendant is the person who has oral sex performed on him, then the contact is with — not with anything on that list, but with the lips of another person. It seems to be self-evident that that's what it is.... Let me remind you, sir, I read this carefully.

In the President's view, "any person, reasonable person" would recognize that oral sex performed on the deponent falls outside the definition.

If Ms. Lewinsky performed oral sex on the President, she engaged in sexual relations but he did not. The President refused to answer whether Ms. Lewinsky in fact had performed oral sex on him. He did testify that direct contact with Ms. Lewinsky's breasts or genitalia would fall within the definition, and he denied having had any such contact.

2. Ms. Lewinsky's Account

In his grand jury testimony, the President relied heavily on a particular interpretation — she engaged in sexual relations but he did not. Beyond insisting that his conduct did not fall within the Jones definition, he refused to answer questions about the nature of his physical contact with Ms. Lewinsky, thus placing the grand jury in the position of having to accept his conclusion without being able to explore the underlying facts.

This strategy — evidently an effort to account for possible traces of the President's semen on Ms. Lewinsky's clothing without undermining his position that he did not lie in the Jones deposition — mandates that this Referral set forth evidence of an explicit nature that otherwise would be omitted.

In light of the President's testimony, Ms. Lewinsky's accounts of their sexual encounters are indispensable for two reasons.

First, the detail and consistency of these accounts tend to bolster Ms. Lewinsky's credibility. Second, and particularly important, Ms. Lewinsky contradicts the President on a key issue. According to Ms. Lewinsky, the President touched her breasts and genitalia — which means that his conduct met the Jones definition of sexual relations even under his theory. On these matters, the evidence of the President's perjury cannot be presented without specific, explicit, and possibly offensive descriptions of sexual encounters.

According to Ms. Lewinsky, she and the President had ten sexual encounters, eight while she worked at the White House and two thereafter. The sexual encounters generally occurred in or near the private study off the Oval Office — most often in the windowless hallway outside the study. During many of their sexual encounters, the President stood leaning against the doorway of the bathroom across from the study, which, he told Ms. Lewinsky, eased his sore back.

Ms. Lewinsky testified that her physical relationship with the President included oral sex but not sexual intercourse. According to Ms. Lewinsky, she performed oral sex on the President; he never performed oral sex on her.

Initially, according to Ms. Lewinsky, the President would not let her perform oral sex to completion. In Ms. Lewinsky's understanding, his refusal was related to "trust and not knowing me well enough."

During their last two sexual encounters, both in 1997, he did ejaculate.

According to Ms. Lewinsky, she performed oral sex on the President on nine occasions. On all nine of those occasions, the President foiled and kissed her bare breasts. He touched her genitalia, both through her underwear and directly, bringing her to orgasm on two occasions. On one occasion, the President inserted a cigar into her vagina. On another occasion, she and the President had brief genital-to-genital contact.

Whereas the President testified that "what began as a friendship came to include [intimate contact]," Ms. Lewinsky explained that the relationship moved in the opposite direction: "[T]he emotional and friendship aspects... developed after the beginning of our sexual relationship."

D. Emotional Attachment

As the relationship developed over time, Ms. Lewinsky grew emotionally attached to President Clinton. She testified: "I never expected to fall in love with the President. I was surprised that I did."

Ms. Lewinsky told him of her feelings. At times, she believed that he loved her. They were physically affectionate: "A lot of hugging, holding hands sometimes. He always used to push the hair out of my face."

She called him "Handsome"; on occasion, "he called her 'Sweetie,' 'Baby,' or sometimes 'Dear.'"

He told her that he enjoyed talking to her — she recalled his saying that the two of them were "emotive and full of fire," and she made him feel young. He said he wished he could spend more time with her.

Ms. Lewinsky told confidants of the emotional underpinnings of the relationship as it evolved. According to her mother, Marcia Lewis, the President once told Ms. Lewinsky that she "had been hurt a lot or something by different men and that he would be her friend or he would help her, not hurt her."

According to Ms. Lewinsky's friend Neysa Erbland, President Clinton once confided in Ms. Lewinsky that he was uncertain whether he would remain married after he left the White House. He said in essence, "[W]ho knows what will happen four years from now when I am out of office?" Ms. Lewinsky thought, according to Ms. Erbland, that "maybe she will be his wife."

E. Conversations and Phone Messages

Ms. Lewinsky testified that she and the President "enjoyed talking to each other and being with each other." In her recollection, "We would tell jokes. We would talk about our childhoods. Talk about current events. I was always giving him my stupid ideas about what I thought should be done in the administration or different views on things."

One of Ms. Lewinsky's friends testified that, in her understanding, "[The President] would talk about his childhood and growing up, and [Ms. Lewinsky] would relay stories about her childhood and growing up. I guess normal conversations that you would have with someone that you're getting to know."

The longer conversations often occurred after their sexual contact. Ms. Lewinsky testified: "[W]hen I was working there [at the White House] we'd start in the back [in or near the private study] and we'd talk and that was where we were physically intimate, and we'd usually end up, kind of the pillow talk of it, I guess, ... sitting in the Oval Office.... During several meetings when they were not sexually intimate, they talked in the Oval Office or in the area of the study."

Along with face-to-face meetings, according to Ms. Lewinsky, she spoke on the telephone with the President approximately 50 times, often after 10 P.M. and sometimes well after midnight. The President placed the calls himself or, during working hours, had his secretary, Betty Currie, do so; Ms. Lewinsky could not telephone him directly, though she sometimes reached him through Ms. Currie. Ms. Lewinsky testified: "[W]e spent hours on the phone talking.... [T]heir telephone conversations were... [a]lmost to what we discussed in person, just how we were doing. A lot of discussions about my job, when I was trying to come back to the White House and then once I decided to move to New York.... We talked about everything under the sun."

On 10 to 15 occasions, she and the President had phone sex. After phone sex late one night, the President fell asleep mid-conversation.

On four occasions, the President left very brief messages on Ms. Lewinsky's answering machine, though he told her that he did not like doing so because (in her recollection) he "felt it was a little unsafe." She saved his messages and played the tapes for several confidants, who said they believed that the voice was the President's.

By phone and in person, according to Ms. Lewinsky, she and the President sometimes had arguments. On a number of occasions in 1997, she complained that he had not brought her back from the Pentagon to work in the White House, as he had promised to do after the election.

In a face-to-face meeting on July 4, 1997, the President reprimanded her for a letter she had sent him that obliquely threatened to disclose their relationship. During an argument on December 6, 1997, according to Ms. Lewinsky, the President said that "he had never been treated as poorly by anyone else as I treated him," and added that "he spent more time with me than anyone else in the world, aside from his family, friends and staff, which I don't know exactly which category that put me in."

Testifying before the grand jury, the President confirmed that he and Ms. Lewinsky had had personal conversations, and he acknowledged that their telephone conversations sometimes included "inappropriate sexual banter."

The President said that Ms. Lewinsky told him about "her personal life," "her upbringing," and "her job ambitions." After terminating their intimate relationship in 1997, he said, he tried "to be a friend to Ms. Lewinsky, to be a counselor to her, to give her good advice, and to help her."

F. Gifts

Ms. Lewinsky and the President exchanged numerous gifts. By her estimate, she gave him about 30 items, and he gave her about 18. Ms. Lewinsky's first gift to him was a matted poem given by her and other White House interns to commemorate "National Boss Day," October 24, 1995. This was the only item reflected in White House records that Ms. Lewinsky gave the President before (in her account) the sexual relationship began, and the only item that he sent to the archives instead of keeping.

On November 20 — five days after the intimate relationship began, according to Ms. Lewinsky — she gave him a necklace, which he chose to keep rather than send to the archives. According to Ms. Lewinsky, the President telephoned the night she gave him the tie, then sent her a photo of himself wearing it. The tie was logged pursuant to White House procedures for gifts to the President.

In a draft note to the President in December 1997, Ms. Lewinsky wrote that she was "very particular about presents and could never give them to anyone else — they were all bought with my mind."

Many of the 30 or so gifts that she gave

the President reflected his interests in history, antiques, cigars, and frogs. Ms. Lewinsky gave him, among other things, six neckties, an antique paperweight showing the White House, a silver tabletop holder for cigars or cigarettes, a pair of sunglasses, a casual shirt, a ring embossed "Santa Monica," a frog figurine, a letter opener depicting a frog, several antique figurines, a book of quotations, and several antique books. He gave her, among other things, a hat pin, two hypodermics, a blanket, a marble bar figurine, and a special edition of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.

Ms. Lewinsky construed it as a sign of affection when the President wore a necktie or other item of clothing she had given him. She testified: "I used to say to him that I like it when you wear my ties because then I know I'm close to your heart. So — literally and figuratively."

The President was aware of her reaction; according to Ms. Lewinsky, and he would sometimes wear one of the items to reassure her — occasionally on the day they were scheduled to meet or the day after they had met in person or talked by telephone. The President would sometimes say to her, "Did you see I wore your tie the other day?"

In his grand jury testimony, the President acknowledged that he had exchanged a number of gifts with Ms. Lewinsky. After their intimate relationship ended in 1997, he testified, "[S]he continued to give me gifts. And I felt that it was a right thing to do to give her gifts back."

G. Messages

According to Ms. Lewinsky, she sent the President a number of cards and letters. In some, she expressed anger that he was "not paying enough attention to me"; in others, she said she missed him; in still others, she just sent "a funny card that I saw."

In early January 1998, she sent him, along with an antique book about American presidents, "[a]n embarrassing mushy note." She testified that the President never sent her any cards or notes other than formal thank-you letters.

Testifying before the grand jury, the President acknowledged having received cards and notes from Ms. Lewinsky that were "somewhat intimate" and "quite affectionate," even after the intimate relationship ended.

H. Secrecy

Both Ms. Lewinsky and the President testified that they took steps to maintain the secrecy of the relationship. According to Ms. Lewinsky, the President from the outset stressed the importance of keeping the relationship secret. In her handwritten statement to this Office, Ms. Lewinsky wrote that "the President told Ms. L. to deny a relationship, if ever asked about it. He also said something to the effect of if the two people who are involved say it didn't happen — it didn't happen." According to Ms. Lewinsky, the President sometimes asked if she had told anyone about their sexual relationship or about the gifts they had exchanged; she (falsely) assured him that she had not. She told him that "I would always deny it, I would always protect him," and he responded approvingly. "The two of them had, in her words, "a mutual understanding" that they would "keep this private, so that meant deny it and... take whatever appropriate steps needed to be taken." When she and the President both were subpoenaed to testify in the Jones case, Ms. Lewinsky anticipated that "as we had on every other occasion and every other instance of this relationship, we would deny it."

In his grand jury testimony, the President confirmed his efforts to keep their relationship secret. He said he did not want the facts of their relationship to be disclosed "in any context," and added: "I certainly didn't want this to come out, if I could help it. And I was concerned about that. I was embarrassed about it. I knew it was wrong." Asked if he wanted to avoid having the facts come out through Ms. Lewinsky's testimony in Jones, he said: "Well, I did not want her to have to testify and go through that. And, of course, I didn't want her to do that, of course not."

I. Cover Stories

For her visits to see the President, according to Ms. Lewinsky, "[T]here was always some sort of a cover." When visiting the President while she worked at the White House, she generally planned to tell anyone who asked (including Secret Service officers and agents) that she was delivering papers to the President. Ms. Lewinsky explained that this artifice may have originated when "I got there kind of saying, 'Oh, gee, here are your letters,' wink, wink, and him saying, 'Okay, that's good.'" To back up her stories, she generally carried a folder on these visits. (In truth, according to Ms. Lewinsky, her job never required her to deliver papers to the President.) On a few occasions during her White House employment, Ms. Lewinsky and the President arranged to bump into each other in the hallway; he then would invite her to accompany him to the Oval Office. Later, after she left the White House and started working at the Pentagon, Ms. Lewinsky relied on Ms. Currie to arrange times when she could see the President. The cover story for those visits was that Ms. Lewinsky was coming to see Ms. Currie, not the President.

While the President did not expressly instruct her to lie, according to Ms. Lewinsky, he did suggest misleading cover stories. And, when she assured him that she planned to be about the relationship, he responded approvingly. On the frequent occasions when Ms. Lewinsky promised that she would "always deny" the relationship and "always protect him," for example, the President responded, in her recollection, "That's good," or — something affirmative.... [N]ot — Don't deny it."

Once she was named as a possible witness in the Jones case, according to Ms. Lewinsky, the President reminded her of the cover stories. After telling her that she was a potential witness, the President suggested that, if she were subpoenaed, she could file an affidavit to avoid being deposed. He also told her she

could say that, when working at the White House, she had sometimes delivered letters to him, and, after leaving her White House job, she had sometimes returned to visit Ms. Currie. (The President's own testimony in the Jones case mirrors the recommendations he made to Ms. Lewinsky for her testimony. In his deposition, the President testified that he saw Ms. Lewinsky "on two or three occasions" during the November 1995 government furlough, "one or two other times when she brought some documents to me," and "sometimes before Christmas" when Ms. Lewinsky "came by to see Betty.")

In his grand jury testimony, the President acknowledged that he and Ms. Lewinsky "might have talked about what to do in a nonlegal context" to hide their relationship, and that he "might well have said" that Ms. Lewinsky should tell people that she was bringing letters to him or coming to visit Ms. Currie. But he also stated that "I never asked Ms. Lewinsky to lie."

J. Steps to Avoid Being Seen or Heard

After their first two sexual encounters during the November 1995 government shutdown, according to Ms. Lewinsky, her encounters with the President generally occurred on weekends, when fewer people were in the West Wing. Ms. Lewinsky testified:

He had told me... that he was usually around on the weekends and that it was okay to come see him on the weekends. So he would call and we would arrange either to bump into each other in the hall or that I would bring papers to the office.

From some of the President's comments, Ms. Lewinsky gathered that he should try to avoid being seen by several White House employees, including Nancy Herreich, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Oval Office Operations, and Stephen Goodin, the President's personal aide.

Out of concern about being seen, the sexual encounters most often occurred in the windowless hallway outside the study. According to Ms. Lewinsky, the President was concerned that the two of them might be spotted through a White House window. When they were in the study together in the evenings, he sometimes turned out the light. Once, when she spotted a gardener outside the study window, they left the room. Ms. Lewinsky testified that, on December 28, 1997, "when I was getting my Christmas kiss" in the doorway to the study, the President was "looking out the window with his eyes wide open while he was kissing me and then I got mad because it wasn't very romantic." He responded, "Well, I was just looking to see to make sure no one was out there."

Fear of discovery constrained their sexual encounters in several respects, according to Ms. Lewinsky. The President ordinarily kept the door between the private hallway and the Oval Office several inches ajar during their encounters, both so that he could hear if anyone approached and so that anyone who did approach would be less likely to suspect impropriety. During their sexual encounters, Ms. Lewinsky testified, "[W]e were both aware of the volume and sometimes... I bit my hand — so that I wouldn't make any noise." On one occasion, according to Ms. Lewinsky, the President put his hand over her mouth during a sexual encounter to keep her quiet. Currie, who testified that she might be interrupted abruptly, according to Ms. Lewinsky, the two of them never fully undressed.

While noting that "the door to the hallway was always somewhat open," the President testified that he did try to keep the intimate relationship secret: "I did what people do when they do the wrong thing. I tried to do it where nobody else was looking at it."

K. Ms. Lewinsky's Notes and Letters

The President expressed concern about documents that might hint at an improper relationship between them, according to Ms. Lewinsky. He cautioned her about messages she sent.

There were... some occasions when I sent him cards or notes that I wrote things that he deemed too personal to put on paper just in case something ever happened, if it got lost getting there or someone else opened it. So there were several times when he remarked to me, you know, you shouldn't put that on paper.

She said that the President made this point to her in their last conversation, on January 5, 1998, in reference to what she characterized as "[a]n embarrassing mushy note" she had sent him. In addition, according to Ms. Lewinsky, the President expressed concerns about official records that could establish aspects of their relationship. She said that on two occasions she asked the President if he could go upstairs to the Residence with him. No, he said, because a record is kept of everyone who accompanies him there.

The President testified before the grand jury: "I remember telling her she should be careful what she wrote, because a lot of it was clearly inappropriate and would be embarrassing if somebody else read it."

L. Ms. Lewinsky's Evaluation of Their Secrecy Efforts

In two conversations recorded after she was subpoenaed in the Jones case, Ms. Lewinsky expressed confidence that her relationship with the President would never be discovered. She believed that no records showed her and the President alone in the area of the study. Regardless of the evidence, in any event, she would continue denying the relationship. "If someone looked in the study window, it's not me," she said. If someone produced tapes of her telephone calls with the President, she would say they were fakes.

In another recorded conversation, Ms. Lewinsky said she was especially comforted by the fact that the President, like her, would be swearing under oath that "nothing happened." She said:

[T]o tell you the truth, I'm not concerned all that much anymore because I know I'm not going to get in trouble. I will not get in trouble because you know what? The story I've signed under — under oath is: what someone else is saying under oath.

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Battle for the Presidency / The White House Rebuttal

The following was issued by the White House on Friday. (In the text, OIC refers to Kenneth Starr's Office of Independent Counsel.)

Summary of Key Points of the President's Case in Anticipation of the Starr Report

1. The President has acknowledged a serious mistake — an inappropriate relationship with Monica Lewinsky. He has taken responsibility for his actions, and he has apologized to the country, to his friends, leaders of his party, the cabinet and most importantly, his family.

This private mistake does not amount to an impeachable action. A relationship outside one's marriage is wrong — and the President admits that. It is not a high crime or misdemeanor. The Constitution specifically states that Congress shall impeach only for "treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

These words in the Constitution were chosen with great care, and after extensive deliberations.

2. "High crimes and misdemeanors" had a fixed meaning to the Framers of our Constitution — it meant wrongs committed against our system of government. The impeachment clause was designed to protect our country against a President who was using his official powers against the nation, against the American people, against our society. It was never designed to allow a political body to force a President from office for a very personal mistake.

3. Remember — this report is based entirely on allegations obtained by a grand jury — rumors and hearsay of allegations and purported "evidence"

that would never be admitted in court, that has never been seen by the President or his lawyers, and that was not subject to cross-examination or any other traditional safeguards to ensure its credibility.

4. Grand juries are not designed to search for truth. They do not and are not intended to ensure credibility, reliability, or simple fairness. They only exist to accuse. Yet this is the process that the Independent Counsel has chosen to provide the "evidence" to write his report.

5. The law defines perjury very clearly. Perjury requires proof that an individual knowingly made a false statement while under oath. Answers to questions that are literally true are not perjury. Even if an answer doesn't directly answer the question asked, it is not perjury if it is true — no accused has an obligation to help his accuser. Answers to fundamentally ambiguous questions also can never be perjury. And nobody can be convicted of perjury based on only one other person's testimony.

6. The President did not commit perjury. Most of the illegal leaks suggesting his testimony was perjurious falsely describe his testimony. First of all, the President never testified in the Jones deposition that he was not alone with Ms. Lewinsky. The President never testified that his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky was the same as with any other intern. To the contrary, he admitted exchanging gifts with her, knowing about her job search, receiving cards and notes from her, and knowing other details of her personal life that made it plain he had a special relationship with her.

7. The President has admitted he had

an improper sexual relationship with Ms. Lewinsky. In a civil deposition, he gave narrow answers to ambiguous questions. As a matter of law, those answers could not give rise to a criminal charge of perjury. In the face of the President's admission of his relationship, the disclosure of lurid and salacious allegations can only be intended to humiliate the President and force him from office.

8. There was no obstruction of justice. We believe Betty Currie testified that Ms. Lewinsky asked her to hold the gifts and that the President never talked to her about the gifts.

The President admitted giving and receiving gifts from Ms. Lewinsky when he was asked about it. The President never asked Ms. Lewinsky to get rid of the gifts and he never asked Ms. Currie to get them. We believe that Ms. Currie's testimony supports the President's.

9. The President never tried to get Ms. Lewinsky a job after she left the White House in order to influence her testimony in the Paula Jones case. The President knew Ms. Lewinsky was unhappy in her Pentagon job after she left the White House and did ask the White House personnel office to treat her fairly in her job search. He never instructed anyone to hire her, or even indicated that he very much wanted it to happen. Ms. Lewinsky was never offered a job at the White House after she left — and it's pretty apparent that if the President had ordered it, she would have been.

10. The President did not facilitate Ms. Lewinsky's interview with Bill Richardson, or her discussions with Ver-

non Jordan. Betty Currie asked John Podesta if he could help her with her New York job search which led to an interview with Bill Richardson, and Ms. Currie also put her in touch with her longtime friend, Mr. Jordan. Mr. Jordan has made it clear that this is the case, and, as a private individual, he is free to offer job advice wherever he sees fit.

11. There was no witness tampering. Betty Currie was not supposed to be a witness in the Paula Jones case. If she was not called or going to be called, it was impossible for any conversations with the President had with her to be witness tampering. The President testified that he did not in any way attempt to influence her recollection.

12. There is no "talking points" smoking gun. Numerous illegal leaks painted the mysterious talking points as the proof that the President or his staff attempted to suborn the perjury of Monica Lewinsky or Linda Tripp. The OIC's spokesman said that the "talking points" were the "key" to Starr even being granted authority to investigate the President's private life. Yet in the end, Ms. Lewinsky has apparently admitted the talking points were written by her alone (or with Ms. Tripp's assistance), and the President was not asked one single question about them in his grand jury appearance.

13. Invocation of privileges was not an abuse of power. The President's lawful assertion of privileges in a court of law was only made on the advice of his Counsel, and was in significant measure validated by the courts. The legal claims were advanced sparingly and as a last resort after all attempts at compromise by the White House Counsel's office

were rejected to protect the core constitutional and institutional interests of this and future presidencies.

14. Neither the President nor the White House played a role in the Secret Service's lawful efforts to prevent agents from testifying to preserve its protective function. The President never asked, directed or participated in any decision regarding the protective function privilege. Neither did any White House official. The Treasury and Justice Departments independently decided to respond to the historically unprecedented subpoenas of Secret Service personnel and to pursue the privilege to ensure the protection of this and future presidents.

15. The President did not abuse his power by permitting White House staff to comment on the investigation. The President has acknowledged misleading his family, staff and the country about the nature of his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky, and he has apologized and asked for forgiveness. However, this personal failing does not constitute a criminal abuse of power. If allowing aides to repeat misleading statements is a crime, then any number of public officials are guilty of misusing their office for as long as they fail to admit wrong doing in response to any allegation about their activities.

16. The actions of White House attorneys were completely lawful. The White House Counsel attorneys provided the President and White House officials with informed, candid advice on issues raised during this investigation that affected the President's official duties. This was especially necessary given the fact that impeachment proceedings against the President were a possible result of the

OIC's investigation from Day One. In fact, throughout the investigation, the OIC relied on the White House Counsel's office for assistance in gathering information and arranging interviews and grand jury appearances. The Counsel's office's actions were well known to the OIC throughout the investigation and no objection was ever voiced.

This means that the OIC report is left with nothing but the details of a private sexual relationship, told in graphic detail with the intent to embarrass. Given the flimsy and unsubstantiated basis for the accusations, there is a complete lack of any credible evidence to initiate an impeachment inquiry concerning the President. And the principal purpose of this investigation, and the OIC's report, is to embarrass the President and titillate the public by producing a document that is little more than an unreliable, one-sided account of sexual behavior.

Where's Whitewater? The OIC's allegations reportedly include no suggestion of wrongdoing by the President in any of the areas which Mr. Starr spent four years investigating: Whitewater, the FBI files and the White House travel files. What began as an inquiry into a 24 year old land deal in Arkansas has ended as an inquest into brief, improper personal encounters between the President and Monica Lewinsky. Despite the exhaustive nature of the OIC's investigation into the Whitewater, FBI files and travel office matters, and a constant stream of suggestions of misconduct in the media over a period of years, to this day the OIC has never exonerated the President or the First Lady of wrongdoing.

Clinton's Woes Pose Re-election Hurdle for Women in Senate

By Francis X. Clines
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — There is a grim joke current among Senators Barbara Boxer, Carol Moseley-Braun and Patty Murray, the victors of the "Year of the Woman" elections of 1992, when the notion that some male politicians "just don't get it" helped drive their successful campaigns.

"Now we're running again in what we call the 'Year of the Woman-Target,'" Ms. Moseley-Braun said, noting that all three Democratic women, who first won amid a wave of voter concern about the issue of sex and politics, are in tight re-election races.

Campaigning, they made a banner issue of sexual harassment in the political workplace, brought to prominence in Anita Hill's testimony at Supreme Court confirmation hearings for Clarence Thomas. The new senators then pushed forward the Senate ethics process that led to the resignation of Bob Packwood in the face of allegations of sexual misconduct.

The report on the president's conduct, landing in Congress as the senators' campaigns are in the home stretch, may only compound their political vulnerability. The Year of the Woman victors have had to rebut criticism that they have been more considerate of the president than they were of Mr. Packwood. "I was personally hurt, because I was going around saying I believed in the president," Ms. Moseley-Braun said as political unease swept Democratic ranks with the release of the Starr report. "I was caught flat-footed by his admitting he had. I was not a happy camper."

Opponents have not missed the openings for sound bites. "Barbara, your silence on this issue is deafening," California Treasurer Matt Fong, Ms. Boxer's opponent, told her in a debate last month.

One of Ms. Murray's opponents, Representative Linda Smith of Washington, makes a similar accusation, playing on the senator's "moon in tennis shoes" campaign image. "She seems to have traded in her tennis shoes for a pair of Hush Puppies," she tells state voters, referring to a footwear brand.

Ms. Murray, who describes herself as "upset and angry" with the president for his private behavior, insists that her constituents are concerned about health care, education and other issues, not the president's conduct. "They aren't focused on that," she said at a rally in her home state. "They are focused on what is real to them."

Republicans say the problem posed by Mr. Clinton for his party's candidates is far broader than gender politics. "Democrats are running from the president like scalded dogs," said Mary Crawford, spokeswoman for the National Republican Congressional Committee.

"And for women who have been outspoken in other situations, where Republicans were the focus of scrutiny, to take a different stance now will raise another eyebrow among the public," she said.

Privately, Democratic candidates fear that Mr. Clinton's problems risk making this the Year of the Albatross for them. The president conceded as much Wednesday during a Florida visit when he thanked a local candidate just for being at his side. "Now that he's stuck up for me, he may be in some

sort of a political disadvantage," the candidate said.

Ms. Boxer, after a solid month of campaigning in California, quickly took to the Senate floor this week before the impeachment report arrived to put her criticism of the president's personal behavior in the official record.

But she pleaded no less that other issues of her campaign not become engulfed by the impeachment storm.

"We could have another Year of the Woman as a result of all this," Ms. Boxer said Wednesday when asked how female candidates and voters might be affected by tales of the president's behavior that spill out from the independent counsel's report.

"It's possible," she said. "Or the opposite is possible. We could have a depressed turnout. It's volatile."

The president could have made things easier this campaign season by coming clean months ago, Ms. Boxer said. "But if I lose it's my fault," she said.

Like a Rerun, Clinton Keeps Saying 'Sorry'

New York Times Service

Since President Bill Clinton's address to the nation last month, in which he acknowledged having had an "inappropriate relationship" with Monica Lewinsky, he has spoken several times about his regrets and remorse. Following are excerpts.

Aug. 17 (in a televised address to the nation):

"Indeed, I did have a relationship with Ms. Lewinsky that was not appropriate. In fact, it was wrong. It constituted a critical lapse in judgment and a personal failure on my part for which I am solely and completely responsible."

"I know that my public comments and my silence about this matter gave a false impression. I misled people, including my wife. I deeply regret that."

Sept. 2 (at a Kremlin news conference in Moscow):

"I have acknowledged that I made a mistake, said that I regretted it, asked to be forgiven, spent a lot of very valuable time with my family in the last couple of weeks and said I was going back to work."

"I thought it was clear that I was expressing my profound regret to all who were hurt and to all who were involved, and my desire not to see any more people hurt by this process and caught up in it."

Sept. 4 (during a picture-taking session in Dublin with Ireland's prime minister):

"I've already said that I made a bad mistake, it was indefensible and I'm sorry about it. So I have nothing else to say except that I can't disagree with anyone else who wants to be critical of what I have already acknowledged was indefensible."

Sept. 9 (at an afternoon fund-raiser in Orlando, Florida, for Lieutenant Governor Buddy Mackay, the Democratic candidate for governor):

"I have been your friend. I've done my best to be your friend. But I also let you down, and I let my family down, and I let this country down. But I'm trying to make it right. And I'm determined never to let anything like that happen again. So I ask for your understanding, for your forgiveness on this journey we're on."

And in Coral Gables, Fla.: "I've tried to do a good job taking care of this country, even when I haven't taken such good care of myself and my family, my obligations. I hope that you and others I have injured will forgive me for the mistakes I've made."



Tom Daschle leaving a meeting with the president and Senate colleagues.

Web Lets Americans Judge Clinton's Behavior Instantly

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — When the 445-page summary of independent counsel Kenneth Starr landed on the Internet on Friday afternoon, it hardly started an on-line dissection of President Bill Clinton.

Despite what Congress or party leaders might decide, hundreds of thousands of people have been conducting "impeachment hearings" on Mr. Clinton in newsgroups and on Web sites for months.

The global network of computers has caused a major change in the way American society views its public affairs.

A similarly thorough shift occurred in 1954 when altered public opinion via television, altered public opinion with live broadcasts of the Army-McCarthy hearings. Television allowed Americans to see their representatives at work as they investigated Senator Joseph McCarthy's conduct.

The Internet, which encourages millions of people to process the accusations against the president and their implications at the speed of light, has

been a major factor in the scandal.

Many have watched the saga unravel on their computer screens, from Matt Drudge's early leak of a Newsweek story about Mr. Clinton's relationship with an intern to Monica Lewinsky's alleged home page on America Online to Mr. Starr's report. Along the way, public outrage has ebbed and flowed on message boards, in chat rooms and in on-line political discussions.

Anti-Clinton and impeachment-oriented Web sites and newsgroups have caused a major change in the way American society views its public affairs. The newsgroup alt.impeachment.clinton, at www.dejanews.com, has been a hub of bubbling.

"Clinton is great — impeach the Republicans," one loyalist wrote Thursday.

To which someone replied, "Impeach them all, especially if they fail to impeach Clinton."

One adult site, The Underground, has started a poll titled "Should Clinton Be Impeached?" With nearly 1,200 votes in, 61 percent of the respondents said "yes."

Reaping the Whirlwind, At a Still Unknown Cost

Something's Going to Happen, Ex-Senator Says As Tourists Marvel at the Hordes of TV Crews

By Francis X. Clines
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Bracing himself for a long, tough defense of President Bill Clinton, the Senate minority leader, Tom Daschle, was the first to stand before open microphones and yearn for "closure," the cliché word of modern tragedy and its wished-for ending by stricken participants.

His counterpart in the House, Dick Gephardt, the minority leader, seemed no less dolorously burdened by the prospect of an impeachment process.

"We don't do this often, thankfully," he said Thursday, speaking outside the chamber while lawmakers within, as if in escape, talked of such issues as migratory bird-bunting regulations and the English Language Fluency Act.

"You do not overturn an election of the American people on a whim," Mr. Gephardt said darkly.

Six blocks away, the Starr report rested through what was a generally excruciating day of waiting on Capitol Hill, a boxed-up epic under lock and armed guard, ready to be cued up for its presentation Friday to the lawmakers and the nation.

The obscure federal building where it rested on 2d Street Southwest — the Gerald R. Ford House Office Annex — was the first evidence for many denizens that anything here was ever named for Mr. Ford, the former House speaker who rose to the presidency in the Watergate scandal and now a celebrity golfer.

Mr. Ford remains a smiling witness to all troubled participants in the Clinton sex scandal inquiry of 1998 that this, too, shall pass away.

Television crews waited outside the nondescript Ford building, as if the scandal report might osmotically appear a day early as the leak of all leaks. The crews have been following its path by government van through Washington traffic as an overture to the impeachment inquiry that early summons imposes of the Bronco ride of O.J. Simpson, before his murder trial.

"Clinton will survive," Doty, the waitress at the Market Inn, down the block from the Ford building, said with certainty as she took a break in the day's breezy sunshine. "I hear them all at the bar saying what a joke it is, everybody laughing about Clinton, saying it's his wife's business, nobody else's."

But most laughter tended to fade to fade toward Capitol Hill, where a mood of political wretchedness seemed to mark the day as the eve of something explosive

and all consuming, of a whirlwind to be reaped at some still unknown cost.

"I feel sadness," said Gloria Steele, a 61-year-old retiree visiting from Louisville, sitting on a shaded park bench as the Capitol dome gleamed gloriously against the blue sky. "We'll be changed by these events with Clinton, by the lack of trust. I grew up in an era when presidents and Sunday school teachers were role models."

Her husband, Sam, was quietly freed at what he described as the "greed-driven, money-driven" world of Washington politics.

"That's the cancer, the money," he said, nodding toward the Capitol. "It's the moral compass for the people who can survive in the political system we have structured — the Bill Clintons of the world."

The Steeles moved up the Capital garden path past a cable-strewn pen where, as the noon hour approached, a mass of assorted television reporters poised at a thicket of cameras suddenly gathered their thoughts and pruned their hair in near union, seconds before the midday bulletin.

A group of foreign tourists seemed intrigued. "I've never seen so many of the TV people here — for reasons that I don't need to verbalize," their guide, David Loving, announced loudly. "I don't know what to give you first — current politics or history. I guess I'll give you history because at least it's standing still."

But as he talked of architecture, the foreigners eyed the communications commotion. Jacques Feder, another tour guide, said, "They keep asking me how can Americans be so obsessed with sex? It's so banal."

On camera, the reporters' tone was far more breathless than banal as they talked to America of looming constitutional crisis.

Watching and listening from afar, an old Washington hand, Alan Simpson, retired senator of Wyoming, stayed in touch with his old Washington buddies from his new perch as director of the Institute of Politics at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

"The engines in Washington are melting!" he boomed in one phone conversation, offering parody, but withfulness, too. "I can smell it: the energy level. The excitement level. It's out there. It's a huge generator. It's whirling. It's burning its bearings."

"Something's going to happen. Is it impeachment? Is it resignation?"

POLITICAL NOTES

British Are Betting Clinton Will Quit

LONDON — A British gambling firm reported a flood of bets Friday on how long President Clinton will remain the U.S. president, most from bettors expecting him to quit within months.

"There has been an enormous amount of trade," said Patrick Jay, head of the sports operation, called IG Index, which also handles political bets.

IG Index operates on a different basis from ordinary bookmakers. Instead of offering odds on a particular outcome, it quotes a "spread."

The "spread" on Mr. Clinton's term of office, which has already lasted 20 months, is 25 to 29 months.

If Mr. Clinton left office this weekend, for example, a bettor taking a "short" position would be paid five times his or her stake. But if Mr. Clinton served out his full 48-month term, the bettor would owe IG 23 (48 minus 25) times the stake.

Conventional bookmakers are declining for now to open a book on Mr. Clinton. (Reuters)

Senate Vote Blocks Financing Reform

WASHINGTON — The Senate has again blocked action on legislation to tighten the nation's campaign finance laws, dooming its last flickering chance for passage this year.

Unmoved by House approval of a similar measure last month, Republican foes of the bill held firm as the bill — for the second time this year — won support of a majority of senators but fell eight votes short of the 60 needed to force it to passage. The vote Thursday was 52 to 48.

Democratic backers of the bill vowed to continue pushing for approval of the measure before Congress adjourns next month.

"We will proceed on the issue this year until we get the job done," said Senator Russell Feingold of Wisconsin, the chief Democratic sponsor of the bill, indicating he intends to bring it up as an amendment to other bills. (WP)

Setback to Inquiry On Fund-Raising

WASHINGTON — A federal judge has delivered a harsh setback to Attorney General Janet Reno's campaign finance investigation, throwing out much of the government's case against Maria Hsia, a Democratic fund-raiser after finding that it was built on a prosecution theory that "defies logic."

U.S. District Judge Paul Friedman dismissed five of six felony charges Thursday against Ms. Hsia, one of the few key figures indicted in the 22-month Justice Department investigation of alleged fund-raising abuses by the 1996 Clinton-Gore re-election effort. Ms. Hsia first came to public attention for her role in organizing a 1996 campaign event held at a California Buddhist temple that was attended by Vice President Al Gore. (WP)

For the Record

Senate Republican leaders have generally agreed to a House Republican proposal to dip into the budget surplus to finance a \$70 billion to \$80 billion tax cut, setting the stage for a confrontation with President Bill Clinton. Mr. Clinton opposes using any budget surplus for tax relief and instead wants to focus on using the surplus to solve the financial difficulties of the Social Security program. (WP)

EDITORIALS/OPINION

Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

The Stone Wall Crumbles

The House of Representatives release of a large portion of Kenneth Starr's report was correct because it recognized the need for the public to reach an informed decision about President Bill Clinton's conduct in office and his political fate.

The call by the House speaker, Newt Gingrich, for decorous and fair debate is also encouraging and an affirmation of Congress's ability to avoid partisan warfare during times of national crisis.

There is, of course, some peril in putting so much potentially salacious material on the public record, but this is a necessary step in dealing with the extraordinary mess created by Mr. Clinton's recklessness and his decision to lie repeatedly to his staff, his cabinet, congressional Democrats and the American people.

In our society, information is the antidote for political dysfunction. Friday was a moment of maximum risk for Mr. Clinton, and it is therefore important that no one rush to a conclusion before the report has been fully studied.

It is a time, as Mr. Gingrich said, to "take a deep breath and allow the facts to lead us."

Facts, of course, are what the Democratic senators were demanding in their meeting with Mr. Clinton on Thursday. The president has clearly underestimated how seriously other political professionals take being lied to eyeball to eyeball. Senator Barbara Mikulski said it was important that "the president not engage in any more stonewalling."

Even Michael McCurry, the press secretary who has so loyally preserved that wall, seemed giddy Thursday at

the misleading work he has done for Mr. Clinton.

Asked why the senators had referred so specifically to the stone wall, Mr. McCurry said, "They probably referred to our inability to provide straightforward answers for eight months now."

Such expressions of disenchantment show what a struggle Mr. Clinton faces to establish himself as a leader who can be believed.

They also prove the folly of any president ignoring the fact that in Washington everything comes out sooner or later, and stone walls always collapse on their builders.

To a large degree, Mr. Clinton's immediate prospects depend on whether he can hold the Democrats. The House Democratic whip, David Bonior, and the Senate minority leader, Tom Daschle, have not bolted. But their expressions of loyalty could hardly be more conditional. Their responses underscore the reality that this presidency is on tenterhooks.

There has been little in Mr. Clinton's recent conduct to admire. But fairness dictates that he be given a full chance to rebut the allegations in Mr. Starr's report.

There are, meanwhile, reasons for pride in Congress's initial handling of the Starr report and in the Democratic leadership's attempts to discipline their president toward greater truthfulness and contrition.

There is reason for encouragement, too, in the fact that after months of squabbling and stonewalling, the public will at long last get a chance to judge Mr. Starr's account and Mr. Clinton's response to it.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Russia's New Old Regime

Once again Russia will have a government to make any Polshuov proud. President Boris Yeltsin's new prime minister, Yevgeny Primakov, 58, is a KGB veteran and friend of dictators everywhere.

Mr. Primakov's chief deputy for economic affairs is expected to be Yuri Maslyukov, a former head of the Soviet central planning agency.

And the new team's central bank chief is expected to be Viktor Geraschenko, who held the same post in Soviet times and then helped undermine reform in the new Russia by pumping credits to money-losing enterprises, thereby fueling hyperinflation.

In one sense, this Soviet Restoration is a testament to Russian democracy. President Yeltsin, often criticized for his inability to compromise, this time flinched when the Duma, or lower house, twice rejected his first nominee for prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin.

A third defeat would at best have led to new elections at a time of economic crisis; at worst, the Duma would have refused to go home and piled a political crisis atop the economic one.

So Mr. Yeltsin's nomination of a compromise candidate favored by centrists and Communists alike represents

a step away from confrontation.

But it is far less clear that Mr. Primakov and his new team can pull Russia out of its economic nosedive. He has said that he favors "reform."

Yet his past statements, his new team and the Communist support he will rely on suggest a version of reform likely to include a money-printing binge that would reignite inflation, along with much talk about supporting industry and living without foreign investment.

Supporting industry is fine in theory, but difficult for a bankrupt government. Russia will not climb out of bankruptcy without embracing many of the reforms it has thus far resisted—such as allowing the buying and selling of land, bolstering the rule of law and ensuring shareholder rights.

Mr. Primakov is an intelligent and capable man who will take over with little economic record. Perhaps he will use his mandate to promote true reform.

If not, the outlook calls for continued decline under a weak coalition government, followed by popular revulsion against both young reformers and old apparatchiks. The alternatives waiting in the wings are, in many cases, frightening.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Campaign Reform Sputters

After two days of debate, a clear majority of 52 senators have again demonstrated that they favor legislation to ban "soft money" and clean up the nation's corrupt election fund-raising system.

Unfortunately, those 52 votes were not enough to shut down a filibuster engineered by Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader. As a result, John McCain of Arizona, the leading Republican sponsor of campaign reform, withdrew his bill and seems ready to give up this year.

Abandoning the cause now would be a mistake. Campaign reform should be reintroduced again and again to dramatize its urgency and raise pressure on holdout senators.

Acting like the soul of magnanimity, Mr. Lott declared that he had done his best to give the legislation a full airing, and now it was time to get on to other business, free of disruption by the reformers. But it is the opponents of campaign finance reform who are disrupting the Senate with their filibuster.

Mr. McCain has had a distinguished career as an independent-minded senator on campaign finance reform, tobacco legislation and other issues. To

come in to Mr. Lott's pressure is not worthy of him. He should make it clear that he will support, and even introduce, a series of attempts this month to keep campaign finance reform alive. Enough votes to break a filibuster can be assembled if pressure is maintained by Mr. McCain and by Senator Russell Feingold of Wisconsin and other Democrats.

The McCain-Feingold legislation would end the practice of harvesting huge sums in so-called "soft money" from corporations, unions and rich individuals, and then using the money to pay for campaign ads in circumvention of longstanding curbs on fund raising by candidates. Already Senate and House Republican and Democratic committees are using tens of millions of dollars in soft money for campaign ads this fall. Distracted as they are in this season of scandal, lawmakers must surely be able to see the sorry spectacle of special-interest money tainting the political process, and the public's growing revulsion. If they cannot see it, they should at least be required to face the issue again, this fall, in more votes.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Racial Conspiracies Tear at Asia's Societal Fabric

By Philip Bowling

HONG KONG — There are few more emotive words than rape and race. Combine them with the word recession and you can quickly create a scenario for turmoil in the region if governments, particularly the shakier ones, allow themselves to be led by emotion.

There are several issues that, at first glance, appear unconnected but have some potentially dangerous links. One is the allegations of organized mass rapes of Chinese in Indonesia. Given the extent of mob violence against ethnic Chinese property in recent months, reports of rapes have some credibility. Many Chinese, shopkeepers in particular, have been living in fear. Chinese were used as scapegoats by some elements in the dying days of the Suharto regime and now in the struggle for the succession.

It would be surprising if there had not been some rape cases. How many is, of course, hard to find out, despite the best efforts of human rights organizations. But the reports appear to have been deliberately exaggerated. In some cases, reports have been fabricated and widely disseminated on the Internet. Presumably the objective has been to raise consciousness, particularly among ethnic Chinese around the world.

If so, they had the desired effect. In Beijing, the authorities were more willing than normal to permit a small anti-Indonesian demonstration. Groups in Canada protested anti-Chinese racism. In Hong Kong, newspapers put banner

headlines on "atrocities," and callers to phone-in radio shows demanded that Beijing take action to protect Chinese. Western news organizations were assailed for not giving sufficient coverage to the rapes allegations.

The ethnic identification is natural, but has very likely been counterproductive, at least for the Chinese minorities in southeast Asia it was designed to help. It is also open to allegations of hypocrisy. Protesters' concern for human rights in Indonesia seemed to stop short of Aceh or East Timor, where the issue was murder, not rape, carried out at official instigation, not by random mob action.

Hong Kongers are quick to spot anti-Chinese racism in Canada, Australia and other places, not to mention Indonesia, but ignore their own backyard.

China and Hong Kong both have nationality laws that are racially based. In Hong Kong those who can claim Chinese "blood," whatever their nationality or place of birth, have rights denied to non-Chinese.

"Victim" identification is the other side of the coin. Two years ago, the commercial achievements of ethnic Chinese, particularly in southeast Asia, was being trumpeted. Tycoons boasted of their massive contribution to the development of the motherland. This triumphalism, well supported by best-selling books in the West such as John Naisbitt's "Megatrends Asia," was al-

ways likely to end in tears.

Now, to try to bring Beijing into the equation is the most dangerous move of all. China's territorial ambitions in the South China Sea is regarded with fear in the Malay world. Worse, it gives succor to the racists on the other side, the ethnic Malay racists and Muslim extremists who would like all Chinese to be sent back to China. Every move by Chinese to make Indonesia into a global Chinese issue increases the paranoia of the majority.

National identity, not ethnic identity, has been the region's strength for 30 years, and it remains the only way ahead for southeast Asia. Integration — as in Thailand — is more urgent now than ever. It requires real effort on Jakarta's part and the removal of anti-Chinese practices. But equally it requires ethnic Chinese not to regard themselves as a race apart, united by mythical "blood" ties.

Racial and anti-foreign sentiment is a contagious disease that seems to be spreading. Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad's vitriol against foreign "speculators" may be shrugged off as domestic politics and win some nationalist approval from all races in Malaysia.

But restrictions on capital movement are inevitably seen as having a racial, anti-Chinese as well as anti-foreign ingredient. Disputes with predominantly Chinese Singapore add to the danger of racial disharmony. And when Malay politics become deeply divided, as is happening in Malaysia

and Indonesia, the danger to Chinese minorities increases, however low a profile the Chinese adopt.

Even in internationalist and free-market Hong Kong, the government has taken to barely veiled anti-foreign rhetoric.

The fall in stock prices is blamed on "manipulation" rather than previous gross overvaluation. The word "war" is used to justify massive use of public funds to "save" Hong Kong by propping up the worth of business groups whose debts are exceeded only by their political influence.

Media feedback suggest that supporters of the "war" do so more because of "nationalist" appeal than because they think it is money well spent.

Some of Asia's problems derive from excessive Western capital flows, in and out. But when governments start talking of "conspiracies" it is time to be on guard.

There is no particular reason to believe that, with good leadership, the majorities in Hong Kong, Malaysia or Indonesia will be overwhelmed by the playing of racial fears any more than Jean-Marie Le Pen in France and Pauline Hanson in Australia have become dictators of policy.

But those — be they Western, Malay or Chinese — who promote notions of racial conspiracies threaten the fabric of Asian societies that for 150 years have thrived on pluralism and openness.

International Herald Tribune.

With No Melting Pot, a Recipe for Failure in Bosnia

By Ben Reilly

STOCKHOLM — This weekend in Bosnia, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe will conduct elections intended as the first step in the international community's "exit strategy" from that country. Under the Dayton peace plan, these elections will deliver a four-year mandate to politicians intended to form Bosnia's future government.

As in Namibia in 1989, Cambodia in 1993, Mozambique in 1994 and Haiti in 1995, the elections will be conducted and supervised by the international community, in the hope of creating a viable and legitimate national government. But because of the international community's short-sightedness in one key area — the design of the electoral system — this policy is likely to fail.

An overriding aim of the international community's policy in Bosnia is to build institutions that encourage moderate, "multicultural" politics.

Unfortunately, Bosnia's political institutions offer few incentives for multiracial behavior. The clearest example of

this is the form of proportional representation used for elections to the Bosnian Parliament. This system, used throughout continental Europe, places a premium on replicating existing societal divisions in the legislature.

It works well in stable democracies that have well-developed cultures of accommodation and negotiation between party leaders and where the consensus model of democracy — parties governing together in large, inclusive coalitions — is an established norm.

But in a country like Bosnia, with no history of political accommodation, such a system is a disaster. Take the results of the last elections, in 1996. Because each of Bosnia's three major ethnic parties could rely exclusively on the votes of its own community for their electoral success, they had little incentive to act in an accommodating way on ethnic issues. In fact, the incentives were all in the other direction: The easiest

way to mobilize support was by playing the "ethnic card." It need not be so. Electoral systems can be designed to promote accommodation and moderation in divided societies. The most reliable way to achieve this goal is to require elected politicians to gain some of their support from other ethnic

Planners never learned from elections that worked.

groups. Politicians who must garner the votes of communities other than their own cannot play the ethnic card without fear of destroying their own support base.

Similarly, electoral systems can be designed so as to encourage voters to "express" not just their first choice, but also their "least-worst" option. In other words, a Croat voter can be asked to choose not only his or her favored Croat candidate, but also the most acceptable Serb and Muslim candidates. In this way, moderate, centrist

politicians dependent, at some level, on the support of all communities are likely to be elected, and the goal of multiethnic politics can be promoted rather than undermined.

There are many countries that offer useful models of such "constitutional engineering," but these are mostly located outside the radar of Bosnia's political decision-makers.

Lebanon, for example, has managed to hold together a society with divisions every bit as deep as Bosnia's by building a political system in which

politicians have to garner votes from Christians and Muslims alike. South Africa's transition to democracy was based on a fundamental commitment to multiethnic candidate lists by major parties such as the African National Congress. The return to democracy in Fiji last year was built on a new electoral system designed to encourage both Indian and indigenous Fijians to vote for candidates from other communities as well as their own.

Surprisingly, despite the huge amounts of international

money being poured into Bosnia's postwar reconstruction, virtually nothing has been spent on learning these lessons from elsewhere. This represents a major policy failure: If a political system is not built for Bosnia as it is, rather than as we wish it might be, then it will collapse at about the same time as the international community itself departs.

A system built on three nationalistic, monocultural and mutually antipathetic political parties is inherently unsustainable. The other options require a greater recognition of the real situation that confronts democracy in Bosnia today.

If the elections serve to cement the power of Bosnia's major nationalist parties, at the expense of other more moderate voices, then they will have the perverse effect of undermining Bosnia's struggle for democracy.

The writer is a senior program officer at the International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

Politics and Psychiatry: A Big Risk, But Why Not?

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Americans have been told by many a recent front page or in conversation with friends that Bill Clinton is a compulsive risk-taker. The president is widely analyzed as a man who compartmentalizes the professional and the personal. He has a deep inner need to live in turmoil. The first marriage is depicted in meltdown, or in the deep freeze.

Good guesses all. But they come with this caution: None of us knows for sure. Mr. Clinton almost certainly does not know those things himself. I suspect not even he would take the big risk of presidential politics: seeking psychoanalytical or other mental professional help to get at and understand his deepest, most hidden motivations.

It is hard to imagine anyone anywhere still functioning in his or her job and personal life who could use such professional help more than this president

at this moment. And yet few are less likely to seek it. Add that double bind to the list of tragic consequences of the situation the president has created for himself.

Psychoanalysis and other forms of advanced emotional exploration and therapy have long been seen by many American voters as bordering on voodoo, or as a fatal admission of weakness in the spiritual, moral and/or mental realms.

Richard Nixon quit seeing a doctor in the mid-1950s when a newspaper columnist suggested the visits were for psychiatric counseling. Exposure of Thomas Eagleton's limited electroshock treatment for depression instantly shredded his Democratic vice presidential nomination in 1972 and entrenched psychiatry as the hidden third rail of campaigns for national office.

Much has changed since

then. Analysis is now accepted by health insurance companies and employers as a legitimate and useful medical expense and is seen by growing numbers of Americans as an effective way to deal with the pressures and conflicts of daily life. More and more candidates for local or state political office suffer no damaging consequences from saying they have been in analysis, therapy or counseling.

In Norway, Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik publicly announced this summer he was taking a leave to deal with depression and the pressures of office. He immediately gained statements of sympathy and support from the public and opposition parties.

But American presidents, and would-be presidents, still are wary of public reaction in this area. Media coverage of the president's improper relationship with Monica Lewinsky has

included extravagant speculation about this president's sexual habits, his ability to tell the truth, his marital problems and mental states. But I have encountered scant published or broadcast speculation about whether the president has sought what most people of his education, generation and outlook probably would automatically obtain: professional mental-health help.

Is this one place that editors and reporters sense is unfair to go without absolutely solid verification? Could suggesting that the president might be — or should be — seeing a psychiatrist be seen as a more unacceptable invasion of privacy than speculating about presidential body fluids?

There is a damaging double irony at work here. The Clinton presidency has been subjected to more psychobabble than any of its predecessors.

But the use of psychobabble also has been encouraged by the president and his aides. The presidential historian Michael Beschloss recalls that the Clin-

ton 1992 campaign staff deftly let it be known that the candidate had taken part in group sessions with a family therapist in the 1980s, when his brother, Roger, was a drug offender. This presumably pre-empted Eagleton-type stories. In any event, it was quickly passed over by the press.

The second irony is more serious. Politicians live their lives seeking public adulation and risking public rejection. Along with actors, journalists, ballet dancers and artists they depend on scrutiny and/or acceptance by the public.

Of all professionals, politicians are among the most vulnerable to the slings and arrows of psychic fate. Of all professionals, politicians are among the most constrained in getting the help they may need.

Mr. Beschloss suggests that with the end of the Cold War, the American public will become more tolerant to the mingling of politics and psychiatry. May he be proven right. Presidents need all the help they can get.

The Washington Post.

Looking Back at a Mideast Hallelujah

By Uri Dromi

JERUSALEM — An anniversary is always a good time to contemplate cherished memories, and how history often cycles back on itself. On Sept. 13, 1993, I was standing with Israeli journalists on the White House South Lawn, watching my prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin shaking the hand of his former enemy, Yasser Arafat. The hallelujah emanating from the joyful crowd still rings in my ears. The unfulfilled promise still pains my heart.

A month earlier in Oslo, after fighting each other for decades, Israelis and Palestinians decided to give peace a chance. Gone were the big dreams, both of the Greater Land of Israel and of Greater Palestine, and each side embarked on the painful path toward accepting a new reality.

Abba Eban, the great Israeli diplomat, described the central theme of this process as "reciprocal self-interest" — Israelis were promised security; Palestinians were expecting sovereignty. Oslo was a turn from a zero-sum game to a win-win proposition.

But after the initial euphoria came the backlash of extremism, with terror attacks wreaking havoc. Violent anti-government demonstrations rocked the country.

Yet Mr. Rabin persevered. Like many Israelis he had his doubts, but having made up his mind, he carried on with steadfast courage. By and large, Israelis responded to his leadership. That fatal day

in November 1995, when he was overpowered by three deadly bullets, changed history.

I had little time to reflect on what had happened until the funeral. Only when the casket was carried in, wrapped in the flag of Israel, did it finally hit me, that in it lay the body of my prime minister, and I began to sob. The man next to me grabbed my hand and held it quietly. He was chief of King Hussein's Royal Guard. We had met before, at the peace signing ceremony between Israel and Jordan, another fruit of Oslo. I can still feel the grip of his warm, comforting hand.

Finally, I remember the anti-terrorism summit meeting in Sharm el-Sheikh in 1996, convened in the wake of suicide bomb attacks in Israel. The image of the leaders of the Middle East marching together, arms linked in resolve to save the peace from their enemies, is still fresh in my mind.

Indulging in memories, however, will not rejuvenate the peace process. The believers in Oslo must reach for something more solid to preserve what is left of their optimism. And that is the continuing desire for peace by Israeli people.

While the peace process may have fallen into a coma, it is not dead. If Benjamin Netanyahu decides to resuscitate it, he will find most Israelis backing him wholeheartedly.

The writer was chief spokesman for the Israeli government from 1992 to 1996. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1898: Chinese Politics

HONG KONG — The news of the dismissal of Li-Hung-Chang has been received with satisfaction by the British community. It is regarded as proof that the patriotic Chinese party, including many members of the governing class, have gained sufficient ascendancy over the Emperor to supersede the counsels of the Dowager Empress, whose protégé Li-Hung-Chang has been. The young China party will be greatly strengthened. They have resented the high-handed policy of Russia, against which Li-Hung-Chang's dismissal marks a strong set-off. To that result the British Minister's firm stand and scathing exposures have materially contributed.

1923: Fiume Discord

GENEVA — Fearing trouble with Italy after the day fixed by Signor Mussolini for Italy to

resume her liberty of action regarding Fiume, Yugo-Slavia intends to register the famous Treaty of Rapallo with the League of Nations within the next few days. This Treaty, which set up the Free States of Fiume and which the Serbs believe Signor Mussolini intends to disregard, has not yet been registered by either party. The registration of the treaty is designed by Yugo-Slavia to strengthen her cause in the event of trouble.

1948: Jinnah Dies

BOMBAY — The Indian news agency reported that Mohamed Ali Jinnah, Governor General of Pakistan, died at Karachi last night (Sept. 11). He was seventy-two. Mr. Jinnah was one of the architects of the Dominion of Pakistan. As the leader of India's Moslems, he fought for the formation of a separate Moslem state, and won.

White House
Rejects Starr

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S.A.S. an capital de 1.200.000 F. RCS Nanterre B 73202/1126. Commission Paritaire No. 61337
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White House Rebuttal Rejects Starr Charges

Aides Planned Counteroffensive in Secret

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The White House on Friday acted to preempt allegations in the report by the independent counsel, sending a rebuttal to Congress declaring that President Bill Clinton did not commit perjury, obstruct justice, tamper with witnesses or abuse the power of his office.

The report was part of a major counteroffensive, carefully planned in secret over the last few days by the president's top troubleshooters. It was preceded earlier in the day by a dramatic and emotional statement by the president himself that included his first public apology to Monica Lewinsky.

Many aides believe that speed is of the essence in responding to the Starr report, since public opinion may be exceptionally fluid once all details become public.

The White House report said Mr. Clinton had acknowledged having had an improper sexual relationship with Ms. Lewinsky but added: "The disclosure of lurid and salacious allegations can only be intended to humiliate the president and force him from office."

"Impeachment is a matter of incomparable gravity," Mr. Clinton's personal and White House lawyers wrote. "Even to discuss it is to discuss overturning the electoral will of the people."

"We do not believe the OIC (Office of Independent Counsel) can identify any conduct remotely approaching the impeachment standard, said the 73-page rebuttal written by the attorney David Kendall and the White House counsel, Charles Ruff, and their associates.

"Instead from press reports, if true, it appears that the OIC has dangerously overreached to describe in the most dramatic of terms conduct that not only is not criminal but is actually proper and lawful," they added.

The report was released by the White House less than an hour after lawmakers voted to make public a report by Mr. Starr that is expected to accuse him of 11 impeachable offenses.

Among them: perjury, obstruction of justice, witness tampering and abuse of presidential power in his effort to conceal a relationship with Ms. Lewinsky.

The White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said the rebuttal, dispatched to a half-dozen House leaders, was not based on any advance peek at the report. "We don't know what's in the report, but we can read the newspapers," he said.

"We have been trying to make sure the public understands that these are the

prosecutor's accusations," said another White House official. "It is necessarily one-sided and it requires a response."

The White House rebuttal said that Mr. Clinton had acknowledged "a serious mistake" in his relationship. "This private mistake does not amount to an impeachable action," the report said. It went on to say that Mr. Starr's report was based "entirely on allegations obtained by the grand jury" and said that grand juries "are not designed to search for the truth."

Denying all the allegations of criminal misconduct, the report asserted: "This means that the OIC report is left with nothing but the details of a private sexual relationship, told in graphic details with the intent to embarrass."

The report dismissed as "meritless" Mr. Starr's "attempts to evoke images of Watergate by charging that the president has abused the powers of his office."

Mr. Clinton's lawyers asserted that President Nixon's use of the CIA to thwart an FBI criminal investigation of himself fit the constitutional framers' definition of corrupt use of the office for personal gain.

But, the lawyers wrote, Mr. Clinton's "lawful assertion of privilege in a court of law" and the White House counsel office's conduct of its official duties "plainly does not."

(AP, WP, Reuters)



David Kendall, President Clinton's attorney, leaving the U.S. Capitol on Friday after having been denied an early look at the Starr report.

CONFESS: Clinton Says 'I Sinned' and Apologizes to Lewinsky

Continued from Page 1

Mr. Jones, a professor emeritus at the University of Wisconsin, called the speech "vintage Clinton" and said that it was "exceptionally carefully crafted." But he asserted that what Mr. Clinton was seeking to do was to offer "essentially a personal solution to what has become a public problem."

"The fact is," he added, "the House now has a report and there is a process for dealing with that report, and it is not a matter for personal resolution by the president."

Mr. Jackson, who has met frequently with the Clinton family to help them deal with the Lewinsky revelations, said of the speech:

"It was a very powerful and moving appeal that should go far, because people are trying to balance off this need for him to show genuine repentance on one hand and take care of the nation's business on

the other." Asked how Mr. Clinton was holding up, Mr. Jackson, one of several ministers to come to the podium after the president's speech to offer words of support, replied, "I was very impressed with his strength and his will to serve."

While speaking about his repentance, Mr. Clinton also announced that he would instruct his lawyers to "mount a vigorous defense, using all available appropriate arguments."

But then he added: "I will continue on the path of repentance, seeking pastoral repentance and that of other caring people so that they can hold me accountable for my own commitment."

He also vowed to "intensify my efforts to lead our country and the world toward peace and freedom, prosperity and harmony, in the hope that, with a broken spirit and a still-strong heart, I can be used for greater good."

"If my repentance is genuine and sus-

tained and if I can maintain both a broken spirit and a strong heart, then good can come of this for our country, as well as for me and my family," he said.

The clergy members interrupted him then with 15 seconds of applause. When he concluded his comments, they stood and applauded loudly for nearly a minute. Afterward, some of the 100 ministers, rabbis and other clergy present praised the president for what they said seemed to be heartfelt penance.

"He couldn't be more contrite," said the Reverend Fred Davie of the First Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, New York. "Anybody who couldn't see that has another agenda altogether."

Rabbi Edward Cohn of Los Angeles said, "I love this man. I've been surprised how unforgiving religious leaders seem to be," alluding to criticism from around the country. "I want to see him continue what he's started. He's good for America."

CLINTON: Battle Is Engaged Over Starr's Report as the President Mounts Defense and Vows Not to Resign

Continued from Page 1

The report by Mr. Starr, who has been eight months investigating Mr. Clinton's relationship with Ms. Lewinsky, was made public after a one-sided vote by the House of Representatives to do so. The document, part of some 3,000 pages of documentation sent by Mr. Starr to Congress, was placed on governmental Internet sites.

The House Judiciary Committee, working in secret with a Sept. 28 deadline, will review those parts of the document not yet published and determine which parts can be made public later.

Mr. Clinton began a day of dramatic developments with his most sweeping apology to date. "I have sinned," Mr. Clinton told clergymen in an extraordinarily emotional and seemingly humble speech, adding that his was "a broken spirit."

Mr. Clinton broadened his apology to include, for the first time, Ms. Lewinsky and her family.

But attention quickly turned to the issuance, over the Internet, of the long-awaited report.

The House of Representatives, in its first full vote in the matter, authorized the worldwide release with all Republicans voting in favor and about two-thirds of Democrats doing so.

The report discloses for the first time that DNA tests conducted by the FBI almost indisputably determined that semen found on one of Ms. Lewinsky's dresses matched a DNA sample provided by Mr. Clinton, placing astronomical odds that it could have been anyone else.

Mr. Starr's report said that Ms. Lewinsky over time became "emotionally attached to the president" and quoted her as saying, "I never expected to fall in love with the president; I was surprised that I did."

The report said she told a friend that, in the report's language, "President Clinton once confided in Ms. Lewinsky that he was uncertain he would remain married after he left the White House" and she thought that "maybe she will be his wife."

The report alleges that Mr. Clinton and Ms. Lewinsky had an understanding that they would lie under oath in the Jones case about their relationship and that Mr. Clinton tried to obstruct justice by suggesting that Ms. Lewinsky file an affidavit so that "she would not be deposed, she would not contradict his testimony and he could attempt to avoid questions."

The report lays out in graphic terms several sexual episodes between Ms. Lewinsky and the president, alleging that from Ms. Lewinsky's account that they had oral sex as he talked several times on the telephone to members of Congress, and that in one encounter an unlit cigar was used as a prop.

Prosecutors said they were providing such graphic detail to prove their case that Mr. Clinton lied before the grand jury when he insisted he gave "legally accurate" testimony in January when he claimed he did not have "sexual relations" with Ms. Lewinsky.

Mr. Clinton's argument was based on the fact that the two never engaged in intercourse and that the definition he was given did not include oral sex. Prosecutors declare in the report that the definition was clearly meant to encom-

pass numerous types of sexual contacts such as those he engaged in with Ms. Lewinsky.

Prosecutors also sought to prove that Mr. Clinton intended to lie from the beginning when the Lewinsky story erupted, citing testimony from political adviser Dick Morris.

Mr. Morris testified that Mr. Clinton summoned him the night the controversy erupted and asked him to do an instant poll to see if he could tell the truth about an affair. When Mr. Morris told the president the polls showed he couldn't tell the truth and survive, Mr. Morris claims the president told him that "well, we'll just have to win."

It also argues the president intentionally gave false information to his aides knowing that it would then be passed on to the grand jury. As one example, it says Mr. Clinton told the deputy chief of staff,

John Podesta, he specifically did not have oral sex with Ms. Lewinsky.

Specifically, the Starr report contends that Mr. Clinton did these things:

- Lied under oath in his deposition in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case against him, which was later dismissed, by denying that he had had sexual relations with Ms. Lewinsky.

- Lied when questioned Aug. 17 about the Lewinsky matter before the grand jury.
- Tried to influence potential grand jury witnesses — Ms. Lewinsky and his White House secretary, Betty Currie — to testify falsely.

- Tried to obstruct justice by urging Ms. Lewinsky not to turn over to the Jones attorneys some 20 presidential gifts.
- Tried to encourage a witness, Ms. Lewinsky, to file a false affidavit in the Jones case.

- Lied to potential grand jury witnesses, including some of his top aides, knowing that they would repeat those lies before the grand jury.

- Engaged in a pattern of conduct inconsistent with his constitutional duty to faithfully execute the nation's laws.

The strongly worded defense from the White House noted that Mr. Clinton had acknowledged having had an improper relationship with Ms. Lewinsky and added: "The disclosure of lurid and salacious allegations can only be intended to humiliate the president and force him from office."

Mr. Clinton's lawyers argued in effect that while he had made mistakes and in some cases misled people, he had committed no impeachable offense.

"We do not believe the OIC," or Office of Independent Counsel, "can identify any conduct remotely approach-

In Europe, Head Shaking

Newspapers Across Continent Express Anger and Concern Over Global Fallout

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — Whether they felt he should stay or go, newspapers in Europe all put President Bill Clinton on the front page Friday, with some like the French daily *Le Figaro* predicting that "only a miracle" could keep him in the White House.

Many papers expressed grave concern over the economic fallout worldwide if the U.S. Congress decides, after examining the independent counsel's report, that the president should be impeached and removed from office.

Still others denounced what they considered a "demeaning spectacle in the world's most powerful nation," as the *Daily Mail* in London put it, warning that "it may be a long time before Washington can regain the moral authority to match its undoubted economic and military power."

Many newspapers in France, where barely an eyelash batted when it was learned that President Francois Mitterrand had had a daughter out of wedlock, saw a puritanical taint to a scandal hyped by an insatiable media.

The Communist daily *L'Humanite* said: "Washington, Lincoln, wake up, they've all gone crazy. This would be a joke if the business were not so serious."

The economic daily *La Tribune* said, meanwhile, "American puritanism has paid back with a psychodrama of surrealistic dimensions."

In Switzerland the press gave Mr. Clinton little chance to finish out a term that is to run through January 2001.

"The credibility of the world's policeman is henceforth damaged and the total uncertainty and risk of paralysis, both inside and out, is extremely worrisome," said *Le Matin* of Geneva.

The Independent in London, while conceding that Mr. Clinton's behavior did not equal the crimes of Richard Nixon, said he had "brought it upon himself" and should resign rather than drag things out and risk impeachment.

And the conservative *Daily Telegraph* ridiculed Mr. Clinton's spate of apologies: "Mr. Clinton saying sorry is really just another version of Mr. Clinton lying — the last and most desperate version perhaps." It added that if he were truly sorry, "he would be leaving the Oval Office for good."

The *Times* said that unless Mr.

Clinton could prove, without relying on "incredible legal constructions," that Kenneth Starr's charges of perjury and obstruction of justice are false, he should go quietly.

In Germany, the conservative *Die Welt* conceded that the president "had lied," but said that forcing him out of office "would be way out of line with the fault committed," which it called "a completely private affair."

Papers in Italy were more concerned with the economic repercussions of the crisis, and voiced apprehension should Mr. Clinton be pushed from office.

Il Corriere della Sera in Milan said it hoped "America has not forgotten its history lesson."

"Nixon's resignation was followed by one of the superpower's darkest periods," the paper added, suggesting that it would be "irresponsible" if the U.S. political class, courts and media drove Mr. Clinton to resign.

In political circles, meanwhile, some officials said privately that Mr. Clinton appeared to be seriously damaged, and that a world in financial and political turmoil needed a firm hand in the White House.

One European government official said: "If he can't restore his credibility, and it's hard to see how he can, it would probably be better if he went sooner rather than later." He added that the allies looked to Washington for a strong lead on the crises shaking the world's financial markets and on such troublespots as Kosovo, Yugoslavia; Iraq; Russia, and North Korea, but that there was little chance of leadership while the president was so weakened by scandal.

Other officials said that a prolonged battle over impeachment proceedings against Mr. Clinton on charges he lied and tried to cover up his affair with Monica Lewinsky would be most debilitating for U.S. leadership.

While government officials were reluctant to comment on the record, a former British ambassador to NATO said it would be best for the United States and its allies if Mr. Clinton were to resign next week. Sir Michael Alexander said: "The man is gravely lacking in credibility now in any international environment, and he is bound to be totally preoccupied and distracted. He can't be thinking much about Kosovo." (AFP, Reuters, AP)

VACUUM: 'Scary Combination'

Continued from Page 1

high slide Thursday, and the threat of impeachment proceedings against Mr. Clinton only adds to the sense that the United States is no longer a haven against instability.

At the same time, the Asian crisis was landing full-force in the Americas. The crisis in Brazil's stock market dissolved the few remaining hopes that Latin America would somehow stave off the economic contagion that began in the Pacific. Mexico's currency has declined to lows not seen since the 1995 peso crisis, reviving the fears of that first post-Cold War dip into economic meltdown.

There is plenty of economic rationale behind the fear that a breach of the Latin wall could be far more devastating for U.S. companies than the twin crises in Asia and Russia.

U.S. exports to Latin America are far greater than to Asia, and U.S. banks are much more heavily exposed to a downturn there. But perhaps just as importantly, if economic turmoil engulfs the region, the contagion will be exploding just over the United States' southern border.

"It's a very scary combination of events," said John Wadsworth Jr., the chairman of Morgan Stanley Asia. "The classical solutions to contain the Asian crisis failed. Meanwhile, we have a series of political vacuums at a moment when the complexity of the world's economic and financial situation requires real leadership."

"There's no world central bank, no world equivalent of Alan Greenspan, at a moment when our main problems around the globe are financial. That only magnifies the trouble."

The closest institution that fits that global role is the International Monetary Fund. Until now, the administration's bet was that the outbreak of new brush fires around the world would persuade Congress to put another \$18 billion into the cash-strapped IMF, rather than risk being accused of partisan wrangling while world economies melt.

The strategy, though, is clearly failing. On Thursday, a House of Representatives committee refused to approve a donation larger than \$3.4 billion. Mr. Clinton, distracted to say the least, is in no position to lobby for more funds. Though some compromise is possible, an aide to Mr. Rubin said the funds were "clearly in trouble."

It is always difficult to say what is frightening markets the most: the prospect of drawn-out impeachment hearings, or a recession in Latin America that would further hurt corporate profits or a general nervousness that a remarkable period of world prosperity is grinding to a halt.

But it would be a mistake to underestimate the impact of Mr. Clinton's troubles.

At moments of economic peril, what governments say, how quickly they react to plunging currencies or market crises, how fast they reassure investors that things are under control, take on new dimensions.

With the president viewed as crippled, at best, that leadership role falls almost entirely to Mr. Rubin and to Mr. Greenspan.

VALUES: Many Americans See the Scandal as a Symptom of Serious Moral Decline

Continued from Page 1

Mr. Clinton shared most of their values, with twice as many saying he embodied hardly any or none of them. Vice President Al Gore and the first lady, Hillary Clinton, fared better; the House speaker, Newt Gingrich, Republican of Georgia, worse. But Mr. Clinton's low rating apparently has pulled down the Democratic Party. Its rating on upholding moral standards has slumped.

The survey showed Americans sharply divided on what to expect from a political leader. Half of those interviewed — 49 percent — say it is performance alone that counts in a president, agreeing that "as long as he does a good job running the country, whatever he does in his personal life is not important."

But just as many disagree: They say the president has a "greater responsibility" to set "an example with his personal life." When asked to say in

their own words what worried them most about the country's values and morals, nearly as many mentioned Mr. Clinton or some aspect of the Lewinsky scandal as specified declining family values.

Edward Kruttschnitt, 34, a Plainfield, Illinois, pharmaceutical sales representative, after lamenting the country's moral condition, said, "Obviously, President Clinton's not much of a role model for us."

That might not be so worrisome if people were not concerned about the trends they see in American society. Three in four said the country's values and morals are in serious decline. Nearly two in three said they were dissatisfied with the "honesty and standards of behavior of the people in this country."

Large majorities of men and women, Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, blacks and whites, young people and old, the wealthy and the poor sense something has gone terribly wrong

with the country's moral compass. "Our values are in very, very poor shape and society is dropping at a dramatic rate," said Richard Easton Jr., 28, a shipping clerk in a plastics factory in Turner's Falls, Massachusetts. His short list of examples that illustrate America's moral decline is revealing: Just behind crime but ahead of the erosion of family life, he cites politics.

"The political system needs to be revamped," he said. "There's too few honest people in politics." Mr. Easton, who voted for Mr. Clinton in 1996, said the president's troubles "confirmed for me even more that in politics, values and morals and honesty and truth don't go together."

The survey revealed a growing "moral gap" in the perception of the two parties. The percentage of Americans who say they trust the Democratic Party to encourage "high moral standards and values" has never been lower, dropping

to 26 percent in August from 33 percent barely a month ago.

But the poll also found that Republicans have not greatly improved their reputation: 41 percent of those surveyed said the Republican Party was the party of values and morals, unchanged from July but up slightly from a year ago. The proportion that said they trusted neither party to set the moral and ethical tone for the country increased to 20 percent in August from 15 percent in July.

The surging importance of values and moral issues may dramatically affect vote choices this November. Among the 21 percent of Americans who believe the country's values are strong, 62 percent say they plan to vote for a Democratic candidate for Congress. But among those who think the country's values are headed in the wrong direction — a much larger number — Republicans enjoy a 46 percent to 40 percent advantage, according to the survey.

Outside Russia, Mr. Primakov is best known for his role as foreign minister in distancing Russia from U.S. global leadership. He touched briefly on foreign policy Friday and pledged to protect national interests. But said there would be no return to the Cold War.

He suggested that one of Russia's main weaknesses was the creeping independence of Russian regions and separatist threats. He emphasized the need for Moscow to consolidate power over the entire country.

Mr. Primakov, a spy in his early years, a journalist, a scholar and, under Mr. Yeltsin, the head of foreign intelligence, then foreign minister, handled questions from Duma members calmly — most of them were straightforward and without hostility.

RUSSIA: Primakov Vows to Keep on Path of Economic Reforms but With More Restraint

Continued from Page 1

Russia's stock market is at its lowest level ever.

The confirmation of the acting foreign minister as prime minister effectively ended a political crisis that compounded an economic crash.

The crisis began three weeks ago when the government of Prime Minister Sergei Kiriyenko devalued the ruble, starting a perilous slide. Mr. Kiriyenko and his cabinet were abruptly dismissed by President Boris Yeltsin.

Mr. Yeltsin's attempt to return Viktor Chernomyrdin to the post of prime minister was rebuffed twice by the Duma. Tension grew as the time approached for a third nomination.

Calls for the impeachment of Mr. Yeltsin abated Friday, with Communist leaders suggesting that, although the official process would go on, there was no timetable.

The opposition had brandished the impeachment threat as a counter to a possibility that Mr. Yeltsin would disband the Duma in the political battle.

Once Mr. Primakov was nominated by Mr. Yeltsin on Thursday, the tension

vanished, and attention quickly turned to economic problems and possible cures.

"The state must intervene in and regulate many processes in the economy," he said. "This is not a return to the command system."

Mr. Primakov compared himself to Franklin D. Roosevelt. "It has not occurred to anyone to condemn the U.S. for example, when Roosevelt introduced some elements of state regulation in the economy after the Great Depression," he said. "So, we do not have to copy some wild capitalism that was in the past."

Mr. Primakov said he would not alter the basic structure of banking and credit. "But this cannot and should not be an end in itself," he added.

Reforms must be used "for the development of industry and the national economy," Mr. Primakov made two key nominations:

- Yuri Maslyukov, a former head of central planning, was named deputy prime minister in charge of economic affairs.

- Viktor Geraschenko, a Soviet central banker, was named chairman of the central bank.

The twin nominations fulfilled a deal made by Mr. Yeltsin with the Communists to end the political standoff.

Mr. Maslyukov was head of Gosplan, the agency for economic planning during the Soviet period. Mr. Primakov designated him to revive Russian industry. The question will be, which industry?

In Soviet times, according to some estimates, as much as 75 percent of Russian industrial production went for military uses.

Wary liberal economists fear that Mr. Maslyukov will favor re-nationalizing some Russian industries.

Mr. Geraschenko headed the central bank in the early 1990s. He is widely regarded as responsible for a bout of hyperinflation through a policy of printing rubles. Jeffrey Sachs, a Harvard economist, once called him "the worst central banker in history."

Mr. Geraschenko said Friday that he would not recklessly print money again.

The nominations raised eyebrows among free marketers — even some who voted for Mr. Primakov. Vladimir Lukin, a member of the liberal Yabloko party, predicted that the appointments

ART

Drama in Details

Pieter de Hooch, a Dutch Master

Who Elevated the Ordinary

By Sourin Melikian
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — It took 314 years for one of the great masters of Dutch art to be awarded the honor of a one-man show. Is it because Pieter de Hooch (1629-1684), who died in a madhouse at the age of 55, was so poor and solitary that no one recorded his death, excepting the scribe of a parish register?

As they walk through the admirable show, on view until Nov. 15 at the Dulwich Picture Gallery, some may scrutinize the 41 pictures that cover the 20 years or so of his creative period in search of early signs of De Hooch's sickness. There aren't any, with the possible exception of the last picture, "A Musical Company in a Courtyard," dated 1677, which betrays uncharacteristic clumsiness.

If ever there was a painter that seemed untroubled, this is Pieter de Hooch. There is a quietness about his pictures that singles him out. While Rembrandt probed the unfathomable tragedy of the human condition, De Hooch set out to capture those silent moments when barely formulated emotions are triggered by a sound, a look, a gesture, a set of trifling circumstances.

He did so from the beginning, even when his first pictures, inspired by tavern scenes of Adriaen Brouwer or his Rotterdam followers, could have sunk to the level of genre painting.

Nothing is further removed from Brouwer's penchant for the picturesquely satirical than De Hooch's art. In "The Merry Drinker," the bibulous character raising his glass, far from being funny, looks sinister, as does the second drinker in a big hat. Across the table, an elderly man seems to have been smitten by anxiety. The darkness of the rest of the room matches the threatening mood.

Another picture, on loan from the Hermitage, which might have been flip-pant, has the gravity of a parable. A middle-aged woman peeling potatoes while she gathers in her folded apron smiles, radiant with surprised pleasure, as a cavalier in fashionable attire bows to her, hat in hand, offering her a glass of wine. The shadow of a smile plays on his lips. But this is no mockery. It is an unexpected courtesy from a traveler on his way who has been put up for the night in a modest house and it takes place under her husband's eye. There is no suggestion of dalliance.

A unique aptitude for identifying with others regardless of age and condition appears to have inspired De Hooch with a fascination for these brief encounters of daily life, when humans sound each other out. Alone among 17th-century artists, De Hooch endlessly scrutinized the rap-

port between mothers and daughters. In a courtyard scene set in a poor Delft neighborhood, a woman washing her laundry in a bucket pauses as she looks down at a little girl of 6 or 7 standing awkwardly. A silent smile lights up her face. It could have been soapy. Instead, it is as vigorous as it is understated.

In another scene set in wealthier surroundings, a little girl kneels in front of her mother, burying her head in her skirts while the mother gently runs her hands through her daughter's hair. A soft late morning light comes in at a slant through a high window and makes the waxed brick red tiles of the floor gleam. A small dog seated on its hind legs, its back turned to the viewer, watches the pair in hopeful expectation. This scene of intimate exchange without words is one of the most poetical pictures painted in 17th-century Holland.

Deeply responsive to human relationships, the artist made observations not often found in his contemporaries' works. The frowning resentment of a serving woman standing in a courtyard with a stoneware jug in one hand and a bucket in the other, head bent toward her mistress who sits in a chair, busily spinning, is keenly observed. The cruelty of the situation is emphasized by the peaceful harmony of the surroundings.

NOT much escaped the painter's unforgiving lucidity. Portraying a whole family in a Delft courtyard, De Hooch painted a compressed version of "The Human Comedy." There is the well-dressed middle-aged bourgeois who fancies himself mightily, standing one arm akimbo next to his wife. She looks every bit as smug as she lifts her skirt in an attempt at gentility, with a smile feigning amusement. There is the frail-looking elderly woman with pursed lips and hair dyed orange who sits at a table resolutely ignoring a couple from her own generation, perhaps her sister and brother-in-law. Behind, it would seem, tragedy looms. A cavalier walks toward the viewer, looking distraught. Two steps up, a man inspects the scene with an imperious expression. It is all subtly indicated. One almost wonders whether the tension is real or imagined.

Some of De Hooch's paintings have a Henry Jamesian ambiguity. In a palatial residence, a young woman on whose pretty face the onset of coming middle age leaves a shadow smiles at a cavalier. The man in a wide-brimmed hat holds his slender pipe, with a mix of self-conscious affectation and insolence. Both are watched by an elderly couple — he with a jug, ready to pour out more wine, she looking rather anxious. On the wall, a picture, "Jesus and the Adulteress," flashes a warning while in the



Detail of "The Merry Drinker" by Pieter de Hooch.

distance a silver statue of Mercury, the god of commerce and the protector of thieves, introduces an even more somber nuance.

By the mid-1660s, De Hooch was sufficiently well known to be mostly portraying the high and mighty. He remained as fascinated as ever by emotions experienced in ordinary situations. In a rich house, a young girl in her teens flashes a smile at her older sister while a cavalier fustily dressed puffs at his pipe, with one leg crossed over the other. Every detail speaks of wealth, but not all is well in the best of worlds. Over a monumental Dutch armchair, a Mannerist painting deals with the theme of "Adam and Eve Embracing After the First Fall."

Around 1668-70, De Hooch painted one of his last masterpieces. A woman in expensive clothes nervously presses her lap dog against her body as she reads a letter with intense concentration. She is in shock, while a youthful messenger

stares out of a window, with a bored look as he sips some wine. Behind, in the dark, a pregnant woman turns her head with a weary smile to glance at her.

The painter's career was drawing to a close. He probably sank into poverty, for in 1674 he did not make it to the tax register. We know nothing about the onslaught of madness. No detail is available from the moment the youngest of De Hooch's seven children was christened in 1672 until his death in an Amsterdam madhouse in 1684. The man who probed the innermost feelings of others died in the solitude of a mind that no longer communicated with others.

The pace of the exhibition hung with elegant simplicity enhances the drama. The book written by Peter Sutton gathers all the facts about this fascinating master from a poor working class background. But as the reader closes it, he is still left without a clue as to the private thoughts of an artist who left no writings.

VENICE FILM FESTIVAL

Dredging Around

For Promising Movies

By Roderick Conway Morris
International Herald Tribune

VENICE — "No worst, there is none," as the Victorian poet Gerard Manley Hopkins wrote in the grip of a black mood, and the line was beginning to look like a suitable epitaph for the bulk of the productions screened at the Venice Film Festival, which ends Saturday.

Of the latest batch of in-competition films, Pat O'Connor's "Dancing at Lughnasa" held out some hope. Based on a successful stage play by Brian Friel, it is set in the mid 1930s in the depths of Eamon de Valera's Catholic rural Ireland, with pagan undertones provided by the local survival of the pre-Christian Lughnasa harvest festival.

Schoolmarm Kate (Meryl Streep) rules a family of five sisters with an iron rod, the only men in the household being Michael (winnily played by Darrell Johnston), the 8-year-old illegitimate son of Christina (Catherine McCormack), and a frail, dotty uncle, Father Jack Mundy (Michael Gambon), who has just returned from 25 years as a missionary in Africa, having gone native, and lost his marbles along with his religious faith.

The gradual decline of the women into terminal disappointment and bucolic imbecility is momentarily arrested by tensions created by a visit from Michael's absentee father, Gerry Evans (Rhys Ifans), about to depart for (where else?) the Spanish Civil War to join (what else?) the International Brigade. The cinematography is lush, although judging by the endless number of sunny days in the film, the summer of 1936 must have been the driest in Irish history. The accents would indicate that the various members of the family seem to come from different regions of the Emerald Isle, and the film ends up an unsustaining potage of nostalgia, blarney and baloney.

Other in-competition candidates, the Portuguese Joao Botelho's "Trafico" (Traffic), the Romanian Lucian Pintilie's "Terminus Paradis" (Last Stop Paradise) and the Italian Gianni Amelio's "Costi Ridevano" (officially translated as "The Way We Laughed"), were all depressingly representative of certain self-indulgent, self-regarding tendencies in art-house cinema that seem to equate seriousness with the mind-numbing lingering shot and stultifying boredom.

Happily, toward the end of the week, like a meteor illuminating the general gloom, the Indian director Shekhar Kapur's, out-of-competition "Elizabeth" burst upon the scene. The drama revolves around the first years of Elizabeth I's reign, when the young English queen was beset with plots to topple her, the country in danger of being torn apart by Protestant and Catholic rivalries, and

foreign powers poised to invade. "Elizabeth" is visually beautiful, making brilliant use of light and dark effects, and the dialogue and interaction of the characters strikes an arid balance between courtly formality and human spontaneity. Cate Blanchett is stunning to look at and gives a superb performance as Elizabeth, simply supported by Geoffrey Rush as Sir Francis Walsingham, her spymaster and head of security, and a consistently well-selected cast.

The comic relief promised by Woody Allen's "Celebrity," also premiered out of competition, was only partially fulfilled. Kenneth Branagh plays Lee Simon, a journalist who dumps his wife of many years, Robin (Judy Davis), to go in pursuit of more glamorous fare. Given that Lee, despite seeming to be an obvious jerk, has no difficulty in catching the eye of rich and beautiful young women, it was perhaps wise of Allen to give the part to a younger man. But Branagh has mastered Allen's manner and speech so perfectly that it is hard to work out whether the director has achieved some Svengali-like hold over Branagh or whether the British actor is unconsciously sending Allen up.

Billed as a satire on the absurdity of the cult of celebrity in America, the film's problem is that it has become almost impossible to out-gross reality. "Guest stars" include Melanie Lynskey and Leonardo DiCaprio, with Winona Ryder backing into the limelight in the role of an "extra." There are, as always, good gags, but by the director's highest standards this is a low-octane event.

"Poodle Springs," which features Raymond Chandler's older, newly married private investigator Philip Marlowe, existed only in sketch form at the writer's death and was completed by another hand. Marlowe's self-reflecting solitariness is such an essential key to his character that it was always going to be anomalous to send him strolling down "those mean streets" arm-in-arm with Mrs. Marlowe. And to remove him from his natural urban habitat is to deprive him of the dark side of his soul.

THE playwright Tom Stoppard's script makes a brave attempt to resolve these contradictions, as does James Caan's performance as the mature Marlowe, a fish out of water in the desert resort of Poodle Springs, and in visible danger of expiring for lack of his daily dose of L.A. low life, crime and moral grime.

Consequently, the film, directed by Bob Rafelson and set in a kind of never-never land stylistically suspended between the 1940s and early 1960s, when the action takes place, never really gets off the ground. It will certainly seem a thin experience to anyone familiar with the books and the classic film adaptations.

ARTS

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Austria to Return

Art Looted by Nazis

By Jane Perlez
New York Times Service

VIENNA — Senior ministers of the Austrian government have sent a draft law to Parliament on the restitution of art confiscated by the Nazis and said they expected that some paintings, furniture and other objects would be returned to their rightful owners by the end of the year.

Passage of the law would mean that several major museums in Vienna would have to give up works, from paintings to tapestry to armor, that have been on display for decades. The culture minister, Elisabeth Gehrer, said she had been told by the ministers Thursday that the government wanted to correct the wrongs of the past.

The Nazis stripped Austrian Jews of all their belongings just before the start of World War II. After the war, the Austrian authorities refused to allow Jewish families who had fled into exile to retrieve their artworks and take them abroad.

"It is our will to clear up after 50 years what has not been done before," Gehrer said. "We cannot make wrongdoings right, but we can make justice possible."

The Austrian branch of the Rothschild family is among the Jewish families whose extensive art holdings were taken by the Nazis and subsequently held by art museums here, including the Kunsthistorische and the Belvedere. Baroness Bettina de Rothschild, who lives in southern Austria, said she had been told that her family could expect to recover its heritage, including two portraits by Franz Hals, "before the end of the year."

The baroness, 73, fled into exile as a young girl days before the Germans marched into Austria, and later married an American diplomat, Matthew Looman. She praised Gehrer for her perseverance. "I give her enormous credit," the baroness said. "She has shown great guts. I don't think it's very popular."

The leader of Austria's far-right Freedom Party, Jörg Haider, said Wednesday that the government's effort to return the confiscated art was too great a favor to Jews.

The move to return the art began after an uproar last winter over the disputed ownership of two Egon Schiele paintings, lent by an Austrian foundation for a retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

A spokesman for Gehrer said the government expected Parliament to approve the law in October. Ownership claims would then be reviewed by a new six-member commission.

THE review is considered a formality in the case of works belonging to the Rothschild, Lederer and Bloch-Baner families, who left Austria and have formally made claims since the war. Those family collections and 400 to 500 other items, mainly coins and armor, have been fully investigated and their rightful ownership affirmed, said Gehrer's spokeswoman, Heidi Marie Gluck.

Gehrer said art stolen by the Nazis and held in Austria fell into three categories. The first covers art taken by the Nazis and never returned to its owners because the government refused to allow it to be taken out of the country. Those works were generally donated or dedicated to national museums and galleries.

Among them are 10 paintings that the Kunsthistorische acquired in 1946, including such prized 17th-century Dutch works as a "Portrait of a Man" and "Portrait of a Woman" by Frans Hals and paintings by Meindert Hobbema, Aelbert Cuyp, Jan Wijnants and Frans van Mieris.

A second category of art established in the draft law covers works that were acquired on the open market but are now believed to have a "shady" provenance, Gehrer said.

A third category covers works that could not be returned to their rightful owners despite restitution efforts after the war.

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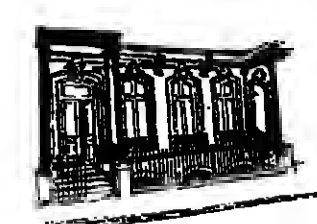
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陈为民	男	58	宁夏	商人	宁夏回族自治区银川市	
赵大刚	男	30	青海	工人	青海省西宁市	
孙丽娟	女	45	新疆	教师	新疆维吾尔自治区乌鲁木齐市	
周志远	男	50	内蒙古	公务员	内蒙古自治区呼和浩特市	
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赵大刚	男	30	青海	工人	青海省西宁市	
孙丽娟	女	45	新疆	教师	新疆维吾尔自治区乌鲁木齐市	
周志远	男	50	内蒙古	公务员	内蒙古自治区	

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姓名	性别	年龄	籍贯	职业	住址	电话	备注
王德胜	男	45	山东	工人	济南市经二路	2345	
李秀英	女	38	河北	教师	石家庄市和平路	5678	
张国强	男	52	河南	干部	郑州市金水区	9012	
刘小红	女	28	江苏	医生	南京市鼓楼区	3456	
陈为民	男	60	浙江	教授	杭州市西湖区	7890	
赵子龙	男	35	四川	工程师	成都市高新区	1234	
孙丽娟	女	42	湖北	护士	武汉市江汉区	5678	
周大伟	男	58	安徽	农民	合肥市瑶海区	9012	
吴小芳	女	30	江西	记者	南昌市东湖区	3456	
郑长庚	男	65	福建	退休	福州市鼓楼区	7890	
冯雅婷	女	25	广东	学生	广州市天河区	1234	
马建军	男	48	广西	商人	南宁市青秀区	5678	
黄晓琳	女	33	湖南	歌手	长沙市芙蓉区	9012	
徐志远	男	55	山西	作家	太原市迎泽区	3456	
林婉琪	女	22	辽宁	程序员	沈阳市和平区	7890	
周永康	男	62	吉林	教授	长春市朝阳区	1234	
吴静怡	女	36	黑龙江	画家	哈尔滨市道里区	5678	
赵子豪	男	40	内蒙古	司机	呼和浩特市新城区	9012	
孙悦玲	女	27	宁夏	教师	银川市金凤区	3456	
陈国强	男	50	新疆	商人	乌鲁木齐市天山区	7890	
刘小梅	女	31	甘肃	护士	兰州市城关区	1234	
张为民	男	53	青海	干部	西宁市城东区	5678	
李秀珍	女	39	陕西	教师	西安市碑林区	9012	
王德胜	男	46	四川	工人	成都市武侯区	3456	
刘小红	女	29	湖北	医生	武汉市江汉区	7890	
陈为民	男	61	浙江	教授	杭州市西湖区	1234	
赵子龙	男	34	四川	工程师	成都市高新区	5678	
孙丽娟	女	41	湖北	护士	武汉市江汉区	9012	
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吴静怡	女	37	黑龙江				

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Continued on Page 14

European Markets Rattled by Turmoil

WALL STREET WATCH

Violent Market S

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CURRENCY

هكذا من الاصل

But Region's Economy Seems in Good Shape

By Tom Buerkle
International Herald Tribune

The dollar recovered somewhat to close at 1.6943 Deutsche marks in New York, after finishing at 1.6840 DM on Thursday. The dollar has fallen more than

The European economy also is less sensitive to swings in the stock market than the United States is, because Europeans own fewer shares. Stock market gains amounted to about 35 percent of



A saleswoman in a store near Moscow surveying shelves Friday picked clean during recent days of panic buying.

11 countries in the Euro zone to about 2.25 percent next year from 2.9 percent previously. But the firm has slashed its U.S. growth forecast even further, to 1.4 percent from 2.5 percent.

European markets will remain very nervous, and the European economy will suffer if the financial turmoil wreaks enough havoc to trigger a global

"The U.S. could be occupied with internal problems and no longer able to act in the worldwide situation as they should. This is a rather dangerous situation."

But Head of Euro Bank Advises: 'Do Not Panic'

By John Schmid
International Herpetological Tribune

the Italian subsidiary, as well as from PROMODES' interest in subsidiaries.

WALL STREET WATCH

Violent Market Surges: A Crapshoot?

By Gretchen Morgenson
New York Times Service

Forward Rates

A Time of Turmoil

Part. escudo	17293	168-000		Cable	
Russ ruble	12.8749	UAE dirham	3.671	Discount rate	0.50
Saudi riyal	3.751	Venez. boliv.	\$86.75	Gold money	0.26
Sing. \$	1.72			1-month interbank	0.60
				3-month interbank	0.65
				6-month interbank	0.67
				18-mo Govt bond	1.01

Latin America's Woes Shake Global Investors

By John M. Berry
Washington Post Service

by the change in consolidation
full consolidation to the equity
Italian subsidiary GRIPPO G

However, net
rose by 17.6%
contributions
by the equ
consolidation

CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES

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 groupe Promodès

First Half 1998 Financial Results

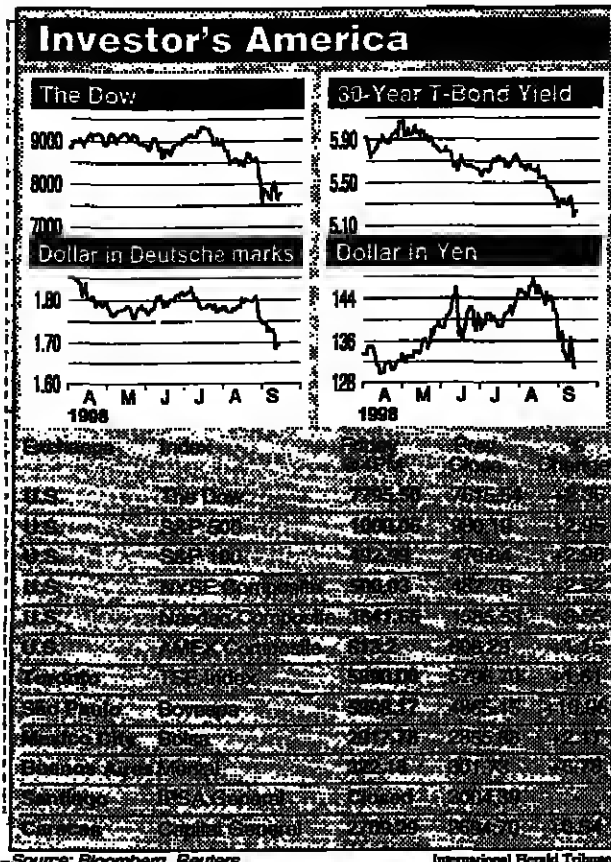
FF millions	June 30, 1998	June 30, 1997	1998/1997 change
Net sales	56 200	51 822	+ 8,4 %
Operating income	1 006	1 085	- 7,3 %
Income before non recurring items and taxes	1 017	1 153	- 11,8 %
Net income before minority interests	711	634	+ 12,2 %
Net income after minority interests	621	528	+ 17,6 %
Cash flow	1 739	1 255	+ 38,6 %

Promodès net income growth: + 17.6% in first-half

PROMODES Group results the first half of 1998 were affected by changes in the scope and methods of consolidation resulting from external growth operations initiated at end 1997/early 1998. Operating income and Income before non recurring items and taxes decreased, respectively, by 7.3% and 11.8% compared to first half 1997. This is explained by the change in consolidation method, from full consolidation to the equity method, for the Italian subsidiary, GRUPPO G, the acquisitions of SIMAGO in Spain, at MINIPRECO in Portugal

and of CAITEAU in France. Excluding these operations, the growth in operating income would have amounted to 8.5 % and that of income before non recurring items and taxes, by 14%. However, net income after minority interests rose by 17.6%, as a result of an increase in contributions from companies consolidated by the equity method, linked to the consolidation of the Italian subsidiary, as well as the increase from PROMODES' interest in several of its subsidiaries.

THE AMERICAS



Very briefly:

- Microsoft Corp. has called the U.S. government's antitrust lawsuit against it "half-baked" and has asked a federal judge to throw out the case. Microsoft said it had not acted illegally to limit competition.
- Colombia's industrial production rose 6.76 percent in the first six months of the year compared with the year-earlier period, its strongest performance for six years, according to Colombia's National Statistics Department.
- Twelve of the largest U.S. steel companies will file unfair-trade complaints with the Commerce Department against foreign companies, in a drive to limit imports they say are threatening jobs and profits.
- Pratt & Whitney, a unit of United Technologies Corp., one of the world's three largest aircraft engine makers, is to cut 1,000 hourly jobs in Connecticut amid order delays from Boeing Co. and Airbus Industrie.
- The Learning Co., an educational software company, is to cut about 500 jobs and consolidate certain facilities as it integrates its purchase of Broderbund Software Inc., the maker of software under the Myst and Carmen Sandiego titles.

AmEx and Intel Help Stocks Move Higher

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — U.S. stocks rose for the first time in three days Friday as upbeat forecasts from Intel and American Express offered investors some rare good news.

The brightest spot on Wall Street was in the technology sector, with stocks surging on positive earnings news from Oracle, as well as Intel.

The Dow Jones industrial average rose 179.96 points, or 2.4 percent, to 7,795.50. Advancing issues outnumbered declining ones on the New York Stock Exchange by a 4-

to-3 margin. The rise put the Dow into positive territory for the week, with a gain of 2 percent.

Broad-market indicators were also higher, especially the technology-heavy Nasdaq composite index, which rose 56.34 points, or 3.5 percent, to 1,641.67. The Standard & Poor's 500-stock index rose 28.80 points to 1,008.99.

Andrew Abrams, a money manager at CWH Associates, said the

Dow was under pressure early amid speculation that President Bill Clinton would resign. "When he didn't say he was going to resign it took the pressure off," Mr. Abrams said.

A Labor Department report of a sharper-than-expected drop in U.S. wholesale prices last month raised expectations that the Federal Reserve's next move would be to reduce short-term interest rates to help offset the fallout from the global economic crisis.

Technology stocks got a lift from encouraging earnings statements

from Intel and Oracle. Intel said late Thursday it would report unexpectedly high third-quarter sales due to strong demand from computer makers in the United States and Europe. Oracle, the largest maker of corporate database software, reported stronger-than-expected profits for the quarter ended last month.

American Express shares rose after the company said the impact from slowing economies in emerging markets had been "relatively modest," and that its long-term target for earnings growth was still 12 to 15 percent a year.

U.S. bonds fell for the first time in three days as stocks rose, dimming the allure of Treasury securities as refuge, and as investors balked at the lowest yields in three decades.

The price of the benchmark 30-year Treasury bond fell 13/32 to 104 2/32, pushing its yield up to 5.23 percent from 5.18 percent.

Statistics on inflation show that slowing growth and weak currencies around the world are pushing prices down in the United States, putting pressure on profits. The producer price index dropped 0.4 percent in August; the core rate, excluding food and energy, fell 0.1 percent.

"Economic growth is slowing down, and earnings growth will be fairly low," said Robert Natale of Bear Stearns Asset Management. "If that's the case, it will be difficult for stocks to make progress."

Stocks could rebound if the Federal Reserve cuts interest rates, he said. (Bloomberg, AP)

Dollar Dives Against Yen As Starr Report Unfolds

Bloomberg News

NEW YORK — The dollar tumbled against the yen Friday on concern that a report by the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, may prompt Congress to try to impeach President Bill Clinton.

Traders also sold the dollar amid speculation that the Federal Reserve Board may cut interest rates and on talk that the U.S. Treasury may be softening its long-standing support for a strong dollar.

"There's talk the Fed is going to cut rates soon and the continuing Clinton situation is weighing on the dollar," said Hugh Walsh, a trader at Commerzbank. "There's also a belief the U.S. has changed its strong dollar policy. From a world perspective, the dollar's losing its safe-haven luster."

At 4 P.M. in New York, the dollar fell to 130.675 yen from 134.400 Thursday. The dollar rose to 1.6943 Deutsche marks from 1.6840 D.M. on the financial and political malaise in Russia.

Against other major currencies, the dollar climbed to 5.6790 French francs from 5.6480. It rose to 1.3905 Swiss francs from 1.3840. The pound declined to \$1.6728 from \$1.6903.

The dollar's gains were tempered by concern that the United States

may be wavering in its support for the dollar's strength. Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin said in an interview to be published in the Sept. 28 issue of Fortune magazine that a strong yen would be good for Asia.

Still, Mr. Rubin last week reiterated in San Francisco his oft-stated remark that a strong dollar is in the U.S. economic interest, adding that there has been no change in that stance.

"The interpretation is that Rubin's changing his policy, but this is not a departure," Keith Woodfin, an analyst at Foreign Exchange Analytics in Essex, Connecticut, said of the article.

U.S. Acts to Stop Chinese Beetles

New York Times Service

BEIJING — The U.S. government announced Friday that it would ban the import of all Chinese goods shipped in raw wood packing material in an effort to halt the invasion of a devastating tree-eating insect.

The move could strain the Sino-American economic and Beijing's relations with Washington.

Officials said that the crates and pallets bringing Chinese goods to North America sometimes harbor the voracious Asian longhorn beetle, which has emerged from packing material in U.S. warehouses to kill trees in five locations around New York and Chicago in the past year.

The ban, to take effect in 90 days, will probably affect from one third to one half of China's \$62 billion export trade to the United States — at a time when Beijing has already seen its hurting export growth slowed by weak currencies in Japan, South Korea and other Asian countries.



NEW DRIVER — William Clay Ford Jr. will succeed Alex Trotman as chairman of Ford Motor in January.

BRAZIL: Latin America's Woes Shake Global Investors

Continued from Page 11

Merrill Lynch has lowered its forecast for Latin American economic growth to 2 percent next year from 3.5 percent, Mr. Steinberg said. He added that the forecast assumes that Brazil will be able to sustain the value of the real within its "crawling peg," a process in which the authorities allow a gradual depreciation.

A variety of U.S. companies would be hurt by a Brazilian devaluation and recession. According

to the U.S. Federal Reserve, U.S. banks had more than \$19 billion in loans and other claims in the country at the end of March, the last month for which figures are available. In the first half of this year, U.S. companies exported more than \$7 billion worth of goods and services to Brazil.

If the Brazilian economy falters, the demand for U.S. exports would shrink and some borrowers probably would be unable to repay their loans on time.

The exposure of large U.S. banks in the region — they had more than

\$10 billion on the line in Argentina in March — is one reason the price of their stocks have plunged by 30 percent to 50 percent in recent weeks, analysts said. For the Brazilians, dealing with the crisis is greatly complicated by the fact that President Fernando Henrique Cardoso faces the voters in a re-election bid Oct. 4. His government is attempting to avoid a devaluation, or perhaps some type of currency controls, until after the election, when other policy changes such as large spending cuts could be proposed instead.

U.S. STOCK MARKET DIARY

Sept. 11, 1998

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EUROPE

EU Rules on Mergers Speed Up Cumbersome Process

BRUSSELS — When Akzo Nobel NV said in April it would buy Courtauld PLC to become the world's biggest paint maker, the European Union threatened to block the acquisition, charging it would give Akzo 80 percent of the European market for aircraft paints.

Until recently, the objections by the EU antitrust chief, Karel van Miert, would have meant five cumbersome months of scrutiny for the \$3.8 billion acquisition. But Akzo got the go-ahead in just six weeks after paring the scope of the venture under a new rule that has created a fast track to EU merger approval.

As mergers and acquisitions proliferate — companies have unveiled mergers worth a record \$1.73 trillion by August this year — the EU has moved to shorten the process by letting companies modify potentially market-dominating ventures as soon as regulators say foul.

The fast-track rule "was an advantage because both companies wanted to get on with the deal," said Derek Welch, Courtauld's business development director. "When you're looking at a merger or takeover of that size, it's important that you get the thing moving as quickly as possible to remove uncertainty amongst everybody: your

employees, customers, suppliers and your shareholders."

Before the rule was introduced in March, if regulators identified antitrust problems during their initial one-month review of a merger, they had to launch an "in-depth" probe lasting up to four months.

Now, by allowing companies to offer concessions at the start of the review, they can approve mergers after six weeks.

EU antitrust jurisdiction stretches well beyond Europe's borders. The European Commission can block the European operations of mergers that result in or strengthen a dominant position in EU markets, no

matter where the companies are based. Any merger between companies with combined global sales of \$5 billion and EU sales of \$250 million each falls under EU jurisdiction.

U.S. companies such as WorldCom Inc. and Boeing Co. have faced drawn-out EU investigations of their mega-mergers. Those full-blown probes, though still an option, are becoming a rarity. Before the new rules took effect, about 1 in 10 merger cases faced a full-scale review. Since then, just 2 in about 140 cases filed with the commission have faced full probes, the com-

mission said. So far, six mergers and acquisitions have won fast-track EU approval after companies offered early concessions. Akzo, Allianz AG, Thyssen AG and Exxon Corp. have been among the companies to benefit.

Allianz in May won EU clearance for its purchase of Assicurazioni Generali de France SA, making it Europe's biggest insurer, after pledging to sell shares in one of its units. The German steelmakers Thyssen and Fried. Krupp AG Hoechst-Krupp in June got approval for their merger after Krupp agreed to give up its seat on the board of the Finnish escalator maker Kone Oy.

Demand for Oil Keeps Shrinking

PARIS — The International Energy Agency cut its forecast for 1998 oil demand for the fourth consecutive month, reflecting slowing economic growth in China and the countries that make up the former Soviet Union.

In its latest monthly report, the Paris-based agency cut 200,000 barrels of oil a day from its previous demand estimate and now predicts 1998 consumption of 74.5 million barrels a day.

World oil demand is expected to rise just 0.9 percent this year, compared with 1997 growth of 2.8 percent, the agency said.

The figures painted a pessimistic picture for oil prices, which fell to their lowest level in a decade in August, amid declining demand in Asia. The International Energy Agency said that oil inventories remain over record levels and that the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries has not fully adhered to its promises to reduce supply.

Oil markets shrugged off the report. Benchmark Brent crude rose 24 cents a barrel, to \$13.51, on concern that Iran could skirmish with the Taliban militia in Afghanistan and threaten world oil supply in the process.

JAPAN: Stark and Dark Signs for the Recession Economy

Continued from Page 1

omy and by the decline on Wall Street and in Brazil on Thursday. Stocks now stand at about where they did a dozen years ago.

The bond markets rallied, sending the yield on the benchmark 10-year Japanese government bond to a record low of 0.78 percent, just after having set a record Thursday. Japanese long-term bond yields are already the lowest long-term interest rates of any country in history.

In contrast, the yen strengthened, as investors sold the dollar over concerns about possible impeachment proceedings against President Bill Clinton. The yen was trading in New York at 130.795 against the dollar, from 134.40 at the close Thursday.

Friday, the main opposition party pulled out of talks on the debt crisis, saying that it would not resume talks unless the government abandoned its plan to use taxpayers' money to bail out the Long-Term Credit Bank, one of the nation's largest and weakest institutions.

In an attempt to ease credit, the Bank of Japan, the nation's central bank, said Wednesday it would guide down to 0.25 percent the overnight interest rate.

"Japan is skirting the edge of a deflationary spiral," said Mr. Sakaiya, head of the Economic Planning Agency.

The economic data Friday showed that domestic demand was weak, with consumer spending falling significantly, along with corporate investment. Deflation is spreading, with prices, profits and workers' pay all dropping. Companies are cutting back on production, investment spending and hiring, which in turn could lead to consumption to fall further. This raises the risk that Japan descends into a deflationary spiral that will increasingly constrict demand at home.

Some economists cautioned, however, that even if Japan dipped into a deflationary spiral, it did not necessarily mean that Japan was doomed to an economic abyss.

"When we talk about a deflationary spiral, the sense is that once it's started, we're finished, sucked into a vortex and there's no way out," said Christopher Caldwell, chief economist at Jardine Fleming Securities (Asia) Ltd. "If we are there now, I don't think the economy will

consume itself over the next two years."

Mr. Sakaiya said that he expected economic performance in the third quarter also to be weak and that a recovery might not come for another two years. The government is now carrying out a giant fiscal stimulus package worth 16.7 trillion yen, and that money was to have started trickling through the economy last month. Mr. Sakaiya acknowledged, however, that the effects of the spending would not be felt until the fall. Some economists say it will be difficult to spend so much money so quickly, and others question whether all the money will actually be made available for spending.

A consensus is building among economists that the spending in 1998 is just barely above spending levels in 1997, when the economy was still growing, and not nearly enough to lift Japan out of a recession.

"The implication for the market is that the Japanese economy still hasn't bottomed out, fiscal policy is not working and Japan is on the road to fiscal ruin," said Andrew Shipley, an economist at Schroders Japan Ltd. "The economy is imploding. It's shrinking."

More surprising for some economists is that the data released Friday show that the core of the economy is weak. The amounts of money that Japanese consumers spent on food, clothes, and new homes, and the investment that companies put into new plant and equipment declined in the second quarter by about 7 percent, according to Jeffrey Young, an economist at Salomon Smith Barney in Tokyo.

Although gross domestic product, or GDP, did not decline this time as much as it did in the first quarter, when the economy contracted by an annual 5.3 percent, the make-up of the economy troubles some economists.

"The emphatic point that I think the markets are going to have to deal with is that people know the economy is bad, but they simply have not come to grips with how bad," Mr. Young said. Separately, the central bank noted in a key monthly report issued Friday that the stock market has been unstable since August, when Russia's economic crisis riled the global markets. That instability, it warned, dragged down economic output even more.

"The real economic situation is worse than the figures might suggest," said Teizo Taya, a managing director and economist at Daiwa Institute of Research.

Heineken Net Climbs 28%

Compiled by Our Staff from Reuters

AMSTERDAM — Heineken NV, the world's second-largest brewer, said Friday its first-half net rose 28 percent, bolstered by the dollar's strength and by acquisitions.

Profit for the six months ended June 30 rose to 418 million guilders (\$218.8 million) from 326 million guilders in the year-earlier period. Heineken, second in size only to Anheuser-Busch Cos. of the United States, said sales rose 5 percent to 6.84 billion guilders.

"Today's profit figure was certainly above most forecasts, and they say they will keep the growth for the whole year," a dealer said.

"The higher dollar is rewarding to them," said Dick de Haan, an analyst at Gestion NV in Amsterdam. "The U.S. is important to Heineken as it's the No. 1 imported beer."

Heineken traced the improvement in its first-half performance to higher sales prices, a better product mix and strict cost control.

The consolidation of a Polish brewer, Zywiec SA, is expected to make a positive contribution over the full year. The company is finally bearing the fruits of its 1996 acquisitions of two brewers, Birra Moretti SPA of Italy and Fischer Group of France.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)

Investor's Europe				
Frankfurt DAX	London FTSE 100 Index	Paris CAC 40		
6100	6250	4000		
5500	5000	3500		
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NASDAQ

Friday's 4 P.M.

The 1,000 most traded National Market securities
in terms of dollar value, updated twice a year.
The Associated Press.

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90	10	90
80	20	80
70	30	70
60	40	60
50	50	50
40	60	40
30	70	30
20	80	20
10	90	10
0	100	0

Line	Unit	Quantity	Unit Price	Amount	Remarks
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[illegible]**NYSE**

Friday's 4 P.M. Close

(Continued)

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div Yld	P/E	100's High	Low	Latest	Change
924	3146	2136	North-S		12	12124	77	7794	
925	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
926	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
927	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
928	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
929	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
930	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
931	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
932	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
933	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
934	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
935	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
936	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
937	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
938	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
939	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
940	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
941	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
942	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
943	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
944	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
945	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
946	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
947	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
948	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
949	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
950	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
951	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
952	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
953	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
954	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
955	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
956	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
957	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
958	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
959	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
960	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
961	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
962	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
963	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
964	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
965	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
966	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
967	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
968	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
969	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
970	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
971	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
972	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
973	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
974	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
975	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
976	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
977	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
978	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
979	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
980	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
981	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
982	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
983	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
984	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
985	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
986	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
987	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
988	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
989	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
990	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
991	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
992	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
993	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
994	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
995	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
996	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
997	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
998	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
999	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	
1000	2776	1876	North-S		10	10124	73	7376	

12 Month High Low	Stock	Div Yld	PE	52w High	Low	Un- Loaded	Cong
29.95-32.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
29.75-32.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
29.50-32.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
29.25-32.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
29.00-31.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
28.75-31.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
28.50-31.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
28.25-31.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
28.00-30.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
27.75-30.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
27.50-30.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
27.25-30.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
27.00-29.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
26.75-29.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
26.50-29.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
26.25-29.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
26.00-28.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
25.75-28.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
25.50-28.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
25.25-28.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
25.00-27.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
24.75-27.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
24.50-27.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
24.25-27.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
24.00-26.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
23.75-26.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
23.50-26.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
23.25-26.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
23.00-25.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
22.75-25.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
22.50-25.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
22.25-25.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
22.00-24.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
21.75-24.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
21.50-24.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
21.25-24.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
21.00-23.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
20.75-23.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
20.50-23.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
20.25-23.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
20.00-22.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
19.75-22.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
19.50-22.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
19.25-22.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
19.00-21.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
18.75-21.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
18.50-21.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
18.25-21.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
18.00-20.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
17.75-20.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
17.50-20.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
17.25-20.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
17.00-19.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
16.75-19.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
16.50-19.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
16.25-19.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
16.00-18.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
15.75-18.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
15.50-18.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
15.25-18.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
15.00-17.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
14.75-17.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
14.50-17.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
14.25-17.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
14.00-16.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
13.75-16.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
13.50-16.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
13.25-16.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
13.00-15.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
12.75-15.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
12.50-15.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
12.25-15.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
12.00-14.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
11.75-14.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
11.50-14.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
11.25-14.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
11.00-13.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
10.75-13.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
10.50-13.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
10.25-13.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
10.00-12.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
9.75-12.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
9.50-12.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
9.25-12.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
9.00-11.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
8.75-11.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
8.50-11.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
8.25-11.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
8.00-10.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
7.75-10.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
7.50-10.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
7.25-10.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
7.00-9.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
6.75-9.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
6.50-9.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
6.25-9.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
6.00-8.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
5.75-8.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
5.50-8.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
5.25-8.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
5.00-7.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
4.75-7.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
4.50-7.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
4.25-7.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
4.00-6.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
3.75-6.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
3.50-6.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
3.25-6.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
3.00-5.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
2.75-5.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
2.50-5.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
2.25-5.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
2.00-4.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
1.75-4.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
1.50-4.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
1.25-4.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
1.00-3.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.75-3.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.50-3.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.25-3.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-2.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-2.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-2.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-2.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-1.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-1.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-1.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-1.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-0.75	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-0.50	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-0.25	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234
0.00-0.00	Pratt & Whitney	1.92	26	14	14	354	1234

[illegible]

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div Yld	P/E	100 High	Low	Latest Cl
200	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
199	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
198	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
197	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
196	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
195	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
194	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
193	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
192	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
191	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
190	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
189	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
188	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
187	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
186	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
185	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
184	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
183	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
182	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
181	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
180	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
179	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
178	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
177	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
176	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
175	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
174	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
173	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
172	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
171	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
170	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
169	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
168	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
167	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
166	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
165	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
164	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
163	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
162	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
161	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
160	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
159	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
158	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
157	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
156	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
155	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
154	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
153	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
152	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
151	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
150	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
149	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Financial Jing

Funds Reassess

Card Pulls Out of Red Machine

ASIA/PACIFIC

'Financial Jingoism' Sweeps Hong Kong

By Tan Ee Lyn
Reuters

HONG KONG — The Hong Kong government's crusade against market speculation has become a rallying cry, fueling a sense of nationalism once rare in this former British colony, political analysts and legislators said Friday.

But some warned that such jingoism would harm the image of this international financial powerhouse in the long run and drive investors away.

Government officials "are creating an impression for the general public in Hong Kong that there are speculators that are not so bad, manipulators who are really bad and these are essentially foreign devils," said Christine Loh, a member of the Hong Kong legislature.

"To divide market players into good ones and bad ones, and the bad ones are from the outside, is

just not what we need," said Mrs. Loh, head of the Citizens' Party and a former commodities trader. "I mean what impression are we creating internationally?"

Hong Kong has locked horns in recent weeks with what it has termed "market manipulators" who are trying to profit from attacking the Hong Kong dollar.

On Saturday, Financial Secretary Donald Tsang is to appear for the third time this week before the legislature's Financial Affairs panel to defend the government's actions.

Since mid-August, the Hong Kong Monetary Authority has spent at least 100 billion Hong Kong dollars (\$12.9 billion) in the local stock and futures markets to foil speculators.

The Monetary Authority accused speculators of selling the Hong Kong dollar to drive interest rates up and stock prices down in an effort to profit from short

selling: when investors borrow stocks, sell them, and buy replacements later to return to the lender at a promised date, hoping the market will go down so that they can pocket the difference.

In the past week, the government has announced 37 measures to strengthen the Hong Kong dollar's link to the U.S. dollar and make markets less susceptible to manipulation. The moves have been hotly debated by legislators in this week's earlier sessions with Mr. Tsang.

Many politicians have used the forum to unleash wild and colorful invectives against foreign "manipulators" — not unlike the rhetoric that Prime Minister Mahathir bin Muhammad of Malaysia has used for months to denounce currency speculators.

James Tien of the Liberal Party referred to them as *gwelios*, a Cantonese term for "foreign devils," while Chan Kam-lam of the

pro-China Democratic Alliance of the Betterment of Hong Kong, called them "international big crocodiles."

Amid the name calling, Mr. Tsang, the top general in Hong Kong's market intervention campaign, has won growing support among the territory's 6.6 million people, surveys showed.

A poll by the University of Hong Kong on Sept. 7 found 54.9 percent of 348 respondents agreed with the government's recent intervention in stocks and futures, up from 37.4 percent in an earlier survey conducted on Sept. 1.

Lau Siu-kai, a political analyst, said the support was because of a groundswell of "anti-speculator sentiment." Margaret Ng, a legislator, said the support given to the government was based on "financial jingoism" and warned that it could encourage the government to do whatever it chose.

Mitsubishi Links Units To Sell Funds

Bloomberg News

TOKYO — Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi Ltd. and the three other financial giants of the Mitsubishi business group will form a joint venture to raise and market mutual funds, they said Friday they would team up in investment banking as well.

The four companies — Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Mitsubishi Trust & Banking Corp., Tokio Marine & Fire Insurance Co. and Meiji Life Insurance Co. — said they would invest 480 million yen (\$3.5 million) and have equal shares in the venture, which will be established in December.

The companies also said they would work together, and possibly with foreign companies, to provide such support services as record-keeping for 401K-type products in Japan. The four will also cooperate in investment banking and might form a financial holding company, said the president of Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Satoru Kishi.

"We're capitalizing on our strengths and teaming up to take advantage of 'Big Bang' financial reforms," Mr. Kishi said. "A holding company is one important option we have."

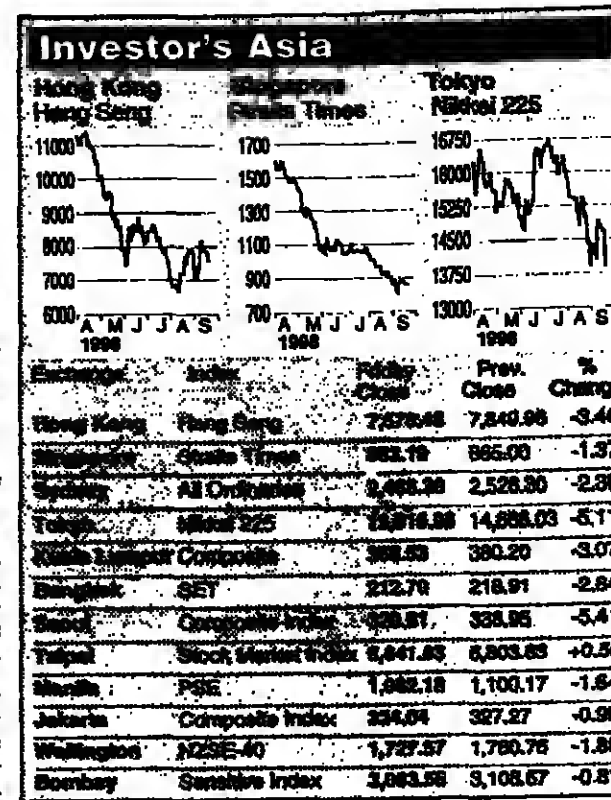
The joint venture is the latest in a series of alliances aimed at cashing in on what is expected to be a mutual-fund bonanza, as financial deregulation lets the 720 trillion yen that Japanese savers have stashed in low-yielding bank accounts move to products that could produce higher returns.

It tightens the ties between Japan's largest commercial lender, its biggest trust bank, the largest casualty insurer and the fourth-largest life insurer, all members of the tight-knit Mitsubishi business group.

A jointly managed investment bank could help fill the hole left in the group's financial-services lineup by the defection of Nikko Securities Co.

Japan's third-largest brokerage, which had close ties to the Mitsubishi group, said in June that it would join forces with the U.S. financial giant Travelers Group Inc. Travelers was to buy a 25 percent stake in Nikko, ousting Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi from its position as the brokerage's biggest shareholder.

The bank said it would have to reconsider its securities strategy the day after Nikko announced the deal.



Very briefly:

- Moody's Investors Service Inc. cut the long-term debt and bank financial strength ratings of six major Thai banks and financial institutions: Bangkok Bank, Krung Thai Bank, Thai Farmers Bank, Siam Commercial Bank, Thai Military Bank and Industrial Finance Corp. of Thailand. The U.S. credit-ratings agency also placed the long-term debt and bank financial strength ratings of Bank of Asia on review for possible upgrade after the acquisition of a majority interest in the institution by ABN AMRO Bank.
- Two South Korean banks, Kookmin Bank and Korea Long Term Credit Bank, have signed a merger agreement to create a \$74 billion "super bank" in the first fusion of healthy institutions. The merger will create the country's largest commercial bank.
- Singapore Airlines Ltd. plans to spend \$300 million to upgrade its flight features and services amid increasing competition for the fewer passengers taking to Asia's skies. The airline said it was taking steps to protect itself from the region's economic turmoil, including scaling back its fleet expansion.
- Daewoo Group of South Korea plans to launch car sales in the United States on Sept. 28, with a target of 250,000 units by the end of 2000.

AFP, Bloomberg, Reuters

Funds Reassess Malaysian Assets

Bloomberg News

KUALA LUMPUR — Jardine Fleming Unit Trusts Ltd., Henderson Investors Singapore Ltd. and other global funds are writing down the value of the Malaysian assets in their funds because they are unable to get their money out of the country.

Currency controls imposed in Malaysia last week locked into the country as much as \$10 billion worth of stocks and bonds owned by foreign funds.

"Our trustees decided that these assets should be written down to zero because they are not easily accessible," said William Pittman, director of investment at Henderson.

Malaysia imposed rules that force funds to hold on to the ringgit proceeds of their Malaysian stock sales for 12 months. Faced with the risk of

breaking their fiduciary obligations by being trapped in a restricted stock market, funds are scrambling to reassess their Malaysian portfolios.

"Nobody wants to be locked into a market for 12 months before they can take their money out," said Kant Rossiter, senior investment adviser for Asian Equities at Nikko Securities in Hong Kong.

The Hong Kong Investment Funds Association, for its part, is recommending that "members might want to consider 'ring-fencing' or discounting their Malaysian portfolios," said Roger Pyke, a director of Barclays International Funds in Hong Kong.

Mr. Pyke represents Barclays on the executive committee of the association, which has 48 fund management companies as members and

is expected to issue "advisory notes" on Malaysia by Sept. 15.

Jardine, which manages more than \$10 billion in Asia, will write down to zero its Malaysian assets in the JF Asian Trust, which will be valued again after Sept. 1, 1999. The 4,800 unit-holders of the \$70 million trust will be made a "special distribution," likely after Sept. 1, 1999.

"What we're doing is to effectively quarantine off the Malaysian stocks, so that can be sold off at a later date, and their proceeds distributed to the unit holders," said Tony McDonald, a director at Jardine Fleming Investment Management Ltd. in Hong Kong.

The moves by Hong Kong-based mutual funds comes after Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Muhammad — a vociferous critic of currency speculation and hedge funds — moved Aug. 31 to rein in trading in currency and stock markets.

Foreign fund managers have been paralyzed not just by the new rule that forces them to hold on to their ringgit for a year, but also by rules that blocked them from selling shares.

Before last week, a brokerage firm could list itself as a nominee for an investor buying or selling shares. Last week, Malaysia said it would foil speculators by requiring that separate accounts be set up at brokerages for each investor, to find out who was buying or selling shares.

Ailing Toshiba To Cut 6,000 Jobs

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — Suffering from falling computer chip prices and a slowdown in computer sales, Toshiba Corp. said Friday it plans to slash more than 6,000 jobs, or 9 percent of its work force, in the next two years.

Toshiba said it foresees breaking even for the fiscal year ending in March 1999. Six months ago, Toshiba had predicted a profit of 40 billion yen (\$297.6 million) for the financial year.

For the first half of the year, the period from April through September, Toshiba expects to lose 25 billion yen, the company said in a statement.

To become more competitive, Toshiba will trim its overall work force to below 60,000 by March 2000 from the current 66,000, partly through attrition, it said.

Toshiba will reduce its headquarters work force to 300 from 700. Directors' pay will be cut by up to 20 percent starting next month.

"I consider the company is in pretty bad shape," the company's president, Taiso Nishimuro, told a news conference. (AP, Bloomberg)

Ford Pulls Out of Kia Motors Auction

Agence France-Presse

DEARBORN, Michigan — Ford Motor Co. said Friday it was withdrawing from the second auction to acquire failed Kia Motors Corp. and its sister company, Asia Motors.

"Although we still believe that a Ford-Kia alliance was in the interest of both companies, as well as for the nation of Korea, we are unwilling to take control of a company that is

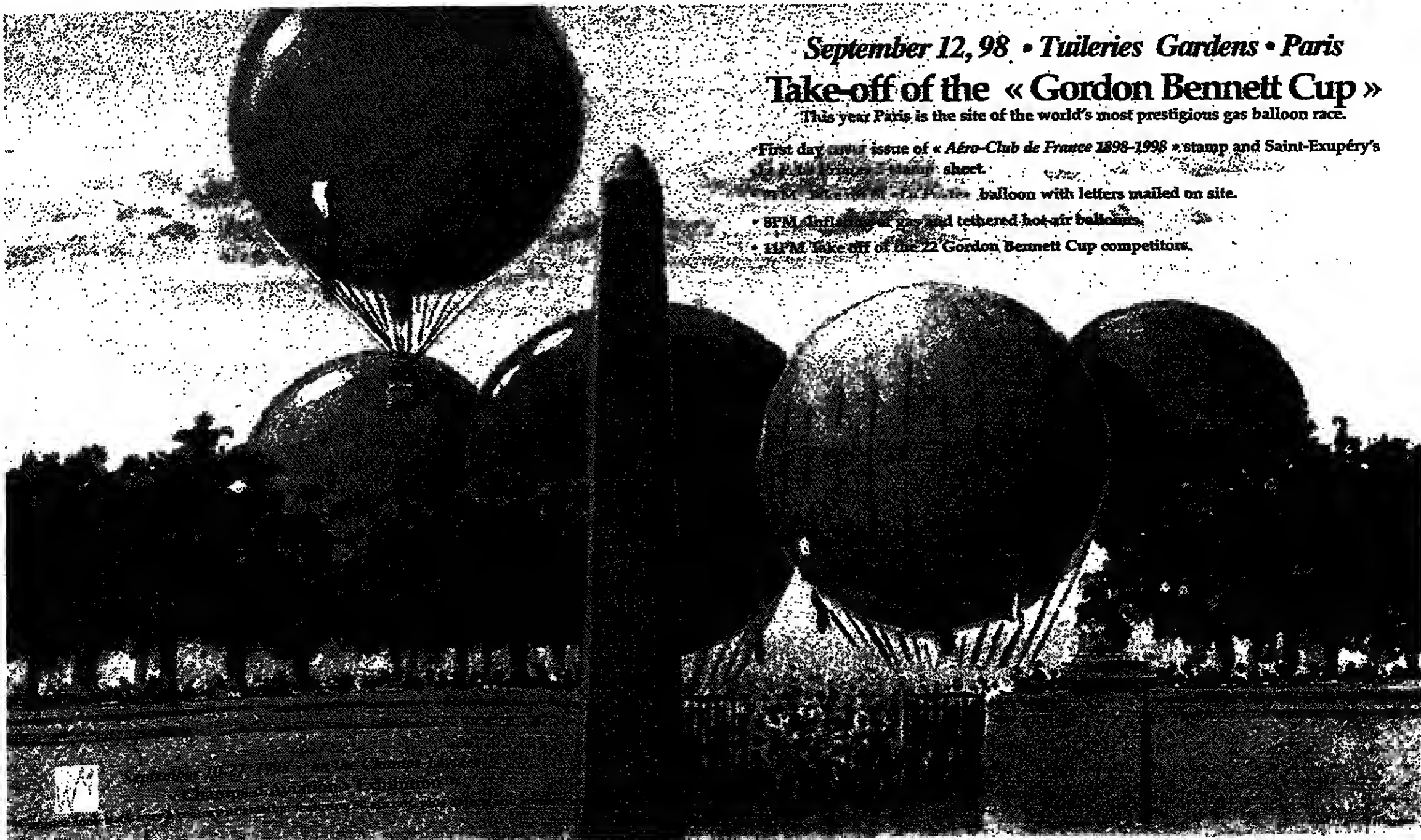
saddled with an unreasonably high amount of debt," said the Ford vice chairman, Wayne Booker.

Ford was the only foreign automaker to participate in the second auction for Kia. A first round of bidding was called off 10 days ago after bidders demanded write-offs of the failed companies' debts, which have been estimated at up to 13.6 trillion won (\$100 billion).

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MONEY

SATURDAY-SUNDAY,
SEPTEMBER 12-13, 1998
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MONDAY
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Employment Heavyweights

1997 data in U.S. dollars

	Number of employees, thousands	Sales/employee	Net income/employee	Assets/employee
Wal-Mart	825	\$142,980	\$4,270	\$55,010
General Motors	608	298,800	11,020	378,500
Siemens	386	154,011	3,446	141,296
Ford Motor Co.	364	422,180	19,020	766,980
Gazprom	362	64,328	17,970	300,243
Hitachi	331	194,440	76	N/A
Daimler-Benz	300	229,838	14,989	254,011
Sears Roebuck	296	139,510	4,010	130,740
Unilever	287	170,000	13,569	110,320
Columbia/HCA	285	81,820	1,330	95,660

Source: Bloomberg, Fortune

International Herald Tribune

Big Payrolls Are Not Big Problems; Growing Companies Need the Staff

IN THE LAST two decades, stock markets have rewarded, at least on a short-term basis, those companies that aggressively trim their staffs. Office resorting to euphemisms such as "downsizing" and "re-engineering," companies have sent tens of thousands of employees out into the job market as they seek to raise their productivity.

This tactic does not play well in the union halls, obviously, but for an investor, the question is whether big is always bad in terms of staffing. The answer, it seems, is "not always."

To explore this topic, the Money Report looked at the 10 biggest publicly held employers around the world, as measured by Fortune magazine as part of its Global 500 issue. The list comprised three automakers, two electronics companies, two American retailers, a dry-goods maker, a hospital chain and a natural gas concern. While some seem obviously overstaffed, others seemed to need employees to grow. Additionally, employees can form a stable bloc of shareholders, a group that will not dump its stock at the first

sign of a bad quarter nor tender its shares to the first bidder that offers 10 percent above the market price. Many of these big companies encourage employee share ownership.

Research by Mercer Management Consulting has found that among the largest American companies, those that return the most value to shareholders are the ones that manage to raise revenues and profits faster than their competitors. By contrast, those companies that raise profit without increasing sales, do less well, though better than corporations whose sales rise but whose profits stagnate.

THE IMPLICATION is that managers can better spend their time figuring out ways to grow profitably than trying to cut costs, an exercise that cannot be carried out indefinitely.

Investors then, could seek out companies with large payrolls and then look to see if they are growing in terms of sales and profit. Those that meet all three requirements have the hallmarks of potentially lucrative investments.

Wal-Mart Stores

As the world's largest retailer, Wal-Mart Stores Inc. also boasts one of the largest employee populations: a staggering \$25,000 at the end of last year in an expanding global empire of 3,400 stores.

Even more impressive is that Wal-Mart's sales per employee have grown to \$142,980 from \$127,550 four years ago, when the discount giant had a mere 528,000 workers.

"It's one of the most important measures of productivity, and Wal-Mart is simply one of the best in the industry," said Asma Usmani of Edward T. Jones, the St. Louis brokerage, who watches sales-per-employee trends as part of her valuations of retailers.

Ms. Usmani suggested a comparison with K-Mart Corp., the third-largest U.S. retailer after Wal-Mart and Sears, Roebuck & Co. After years of misguided diversification from its core discount business, K-Mart is selling specialty units that offered everything from books to auto parts, and closing more than 200 stores; it shed 46,000 employees in the past two years. Although trending upward, its \$123,330 in sales per employee is still well below Wal-Mart's.

Such numbers are by no means the only factor in an analysis. Most analysts look first at same-store sales, a comparison of revenue among sites that were open in all periods being studied.

Wal-Mart also comes in at the top in that category. It turned in one of the best same-store sales numbers for August, up 7.6 percent, leading the discount category and trouncing the more-expensive department-store group.

What sets Wal-Mart apart, say its fans, is an extraordinary array of merchandise, ranging from groceries (it is the second-largest U.S. food retailer) to apparel and small appliances. Coupled with that are bargain prices and a service level not generally associated with dis-

counters, including customer-friendly store layouts and greeters who help shoppers find things. "They're renowned for their productivity, bringing down prices, which brings in more traffic and gives better leverage on expenses," said Ms. Usmani.

Not surprisingly, Wal-Mart stock has been a winner as well. A hefty 40 percent of its 2.2 billion shares outstanding are owned by management and directors. Employees participate through profit-sharing that is 70 percent invested in Wal-Mart stock, and a plan that allows typical workers to buy up to \$1,800 in stock annually at a 15 percent discount to market price.

Mr. Sam gave management a stake even before Wal-Mart went public in 1971," said Steve Hunter, a company spokesman, referring to Sam Walton, the company's founder. For those employees who opted up \$1,650 to buy 100 shares at the initial public offering and held on, the returns have been spectacular: more than \$6 million.

—JUDITH REHAK

General Motors

The last thing executives at General Motors Corp. need to be reminded of is their employee headcount. The world's biggest automaker is recovering from a costly 54-day strike by the United Auto Workers union, fueled by disagreements over job preservation and productivity.

Even though GM's worldwide employee population has slipped by more than 100,000 in the past three years, to 602,000 at the end of March, its bloated headcount of roughly 287,000 auto-workers in the United States makes it the highest-cost American producer, a major drawback in a brutally cost-conscious industry. "Analysts look at the UAW headcount and think their hands are tied," observed James Kelleher, who follows the industry for Argus Research in New York.

Part of GM's problems date back to a

1996 UAW contract with Ford Motor Co. Not only did it protect the jobs of existing union workers, it preserved roughly 95 percent of the actual positions. Traditionally, the first automaker to settle with the union sets the guidelines for the others. In 1996, Ford and Chrysler Corp. had already managed to reduce their headcount by outsourcing significant chunks of their work, but GM had not. "It was like musical chairs, and GM was left without a chair," said Mr. Kelleher.

Nevertheless, GM posted a record profit of \$6.7 billion last year. Like Ford, its U.S. revenue was boosted by light-truck sales, which rose 4 percent and have healthy profit margins, even as its car sales fell 3 percent.

GM did its fair share of cost-cutting. But its efforts to improve productivity by its workers have often stumbled, the legacy of a history of acrimony and mutual mistrust between the company and the union.

"Right now, it's a much harder pill for employees to swallow when GM is posting record earnings but arguing they aren't competitive enough," said Edgar Falter, an auto analyst with Oldé Discount Corp., a Detroit brokerage. "Ford and Chrysler were able to do that when we were in the middle of a recession, and it was a life-or-death thing."

Nevertheless, Mr. Falter has a buy recommendation on GM, in part because he expects its most significant effort to reduce its labor force and improve productivity will move forward. The company plans to spin off Delphi Automotive Systems, its auto-parts business, an event he said was not reflected in GM's stock price.

The Delphi spin-off would lower fixed costs at General Motors, make it less reliant on the UAW, and create the world's largest auto supplier which would do business with GM and other GM customers. Mr. Falter estimates that Delphi is worth roughly \$12 to \$15 a share to GM shareholders.

—JUDITH REHAK

Siemens

From a staffing perspective, Siemens AG has two problems: It has too many employees, and too many of them work in Germany, where wages and benefits are high. The German conglomerate recently announced a 10-point restructuring plan, but the points were only sketchily presented, and it was unclear if there would be a significant staff reduction. Analysts consider this vital, and so their response to the plan was tepid. "There are a large number of unknowns within Siemens' plan to restructure," analysts at Salomon Smith Barney observed. "Management has given no firm indication of what it intends to do, when, and at what cost."

The last part is critical because Siemens suffers from a "high cost base, especially in Germany," the analysts said. "Without significant headcount reduction or relocation, a competitive disadvantage will remain."

That deficiency has kept the stock flat over the last year, as the rest of the German market has bounced higher. It traded late Friday at 110 Deutsche marks (\$64.70), down slightly from 111.50 DM a year earlier.

Analysts at Morgan Stanley Dean Witter & Co. expressed similar disdain,

calling the plan "strong on buzzwords but short on details and practicalities."

Siemens' announced program pales in comparison to "the great restructurings of the recent past" among European conglomerates, notably Alcatel SA of France and Philips NV of the Netherlands, the analysts remarked. They noted that the plan set forth no clear performance targets. That might not matter, for they also said that Siemens had a history of failing to meet targets when they have been set.

David Potts, a fund manager at Guinness Flight Hambro specializing in European equities, saw an ulterior motive in the announcement. "I'm unconvinced the 10-point plan amounts to anything concrete," he said, calling it "an investor-relations device used to prevent a calamitous fall in the share price when results are announced." That will be in November, two months after Siemens' financial year ends.

Some of the investors that the company is softening up are its employees, although it is hard to know how many. A Siemens spokesman, Eberhard Dornbeck, said that employees can buy stock at a discount and must hold it for six years. The number who do so is "a private matter," he said, adding that because they can sell in the market after

the lock-in period, Siemens could not know precisely what portion of shares are in employees' hands.

The difficulty in restructuring Siemens is that it is hard to know what to restructure it around. It is a jack of many trades and master of few. While rivals have renewed themselves around a core business — such as telephone equipment for Alcatel — there is no obvious candidate to serve as Siemens' anchor.

"Siemens is nothing if not diverse," Salomon's analysts politely said. Then, in a departure from the delicate phrasing that is customary in such reports, they added: "Trading is truly awful in many areas. These include semiconductors, transportation and mobile phones. With little clear prospect of reducing staff or acquiring new businesses around a core, the key to renovating the company will be to shed the worst of the existing lines, the analysts said."

—CONRAD DE AENLE

Ford Motor

In keeping with its position as the world's largest truck maker and the No. 2 maker of all automotive vehicles, Ford Motor Co. counted 363,892 employees at the end of last year.

It is a fair bet that most of them will

Continued on Page 19

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Fund Expenses Add Insult to Injury

AS STOCK PRICES have plummeted in recent weeks, so have the returns of mutual funds. But there is a difference: Funds add insult to injury by charging shareholders fees and expenses — often steep — in good times and bad.

Between Aug. 14 and Thursday's 249-point decline in the Dow, the average U.S. growth-stock fund went from having a positive return of 8 percent for 1998 to having a negative return of 3 percent, according to Lipper Analytical Services Inc.

Consider the typical fund that is down 3 percent right now. Roughly one-third of that loss comes from costs imposed by the fund.

That is a painful bite, especially compared with the recent past. In 1997, for instance, Gabelli Westwood Equity Fund returned 29.6 percent after expenses of 1.6 percent. So a \$40,000 account would have made \$11,840 in profits after the fund took \$640 in expenses. This year, the same fund has lost 3.8 percent. If it ends 1998 with that loss, then expenses for a \$40,000 account will be roughly same \$640, but a shareholder will be suffering a \$1,520 loss at the same time.

In a year your mutual fund is returning 30 percent, you are not likely to pay much attention to the fees it is charging you. But, in a year like this, with the average fund barely breaking even, expenses suddenly loom large. In fact, they are always important.

Consider two funds. Each produces a gross average annual return of 12 percent a year, but one has an expense ratio of 2 percent of assets; the other, 1 percent. So, in one case, the investor pockets 10 percent; in the other, 11 percent.

After 30 years, an investment of \$10,000 in the high-expense fund becomes \$174,000, but the same \$10,000 in the fund with an expense ratio of 1 percent becomes, thanks to the miracle of compounding \$229,000 — or nearly one-third more.

But don't you get what you pay for? Aren't higher expenses worth it to fund investors, the way that higher legal fees are to clients? Studies say no.

I asked researchers at CDA/Wiesenberger Inc., a Rockville, Maryland, firm that tracks mutual funds, to compare fees and performance. They found a surprising relationship: the higher the expenses, the lower the returns, all the way down the line.

For example, a sample of 704 general-equity funds that charged expenses of between 0.51 percent and 0.99 percent had annual returns over the past three years averaging 21.1 percent. But the 749 funds that charged between 1.50 percent and 1.99 percent had returns averaging just 18.7 percent.

JAMES K. GLASSMAN ON INVESTING

Notice that the difference in returns — 2.4 percent — is much larger than the difference in fees alone, which averages 1 percent. So, not only are low-expense funds cheaper, but they are apparently better managed.

An analysis earlier this year by Financial Research Corp. examined the performance of U.S. mutual funds ranked with four or five stars by Morningstar. "On average," the study found, "stock funds that charge the lowest fees normally generate the highest returns over time."

For example, in the large-blend category (with portfolios that have both growth and value stocks, in roughly equal measure), the average return for funds in the quartile with the lowest expenses was 24.4 percent. The average returns for funds in the quartile with the highest expenses was 24 percent.

For small-cap funds, the discrepancy was even broader. The low-expense quartile averaged total returns of 151 percent over five years, but the high-expense group had returns of just 119 percent.

"The results of our analysis," reported Financial Research, "support the general theory that fund expenses erode performance. The extent to which that erosion occurs, however, is striking."

There are, of course, exceptions. The firm points to Legg Mason Value Fund and the Tabor Fund, two of my own favorites, which "have earned top-decile (highest 10 percent) perfor-

mance across one-, three-, and five-year periods while charging expenses that are higher than more than half of their respective Morningstar peers."

But then consider a fund like Kaufmann, which underperformed the Standard & Poor's 500 Index by an average of 8 percentage points annually from 1993 to 1997 while charging an expense ratio of a lofty 2 percent. Kaufmann is down 18 percent so far in 1998.

Why do so many investors buy high-fee funds? They have no one to blame but themselves. Expenses are reported by Morningstar and Value Line and in every fund prospectus. Or just call your current or prospective fund and ask.

A 1996 study by the Investment Company Institute, the trade group for U.S. mutual funds, asked recent buyers what information they reviewed before they made their purchases. Leading the list was the fund's performance, at 75 percent of respondents; next, risk, 69 percent. Fees and expenses ranked fifth, at 43 percent.

The irony is that investors can actually control the fees and expenses they pay, while they can't possibly control the return their fund will provide them — nor the risks the manager will take.

The funds with the lowest expenses are funds that aren't managed by humans but instead how to an index, which is a basket of stocks assembled to reflect the market or a segment of it. These funds have done very well in recent years. The largest is Vanguard Index 500 Portfolio, which tracks the S&P 500 Index, a proxy for the large-cap part of the market.

The expense ratio for Vanguard Index 500 last year was a mere 0.17 percent. But Vanguard has a low-expense policy even for its managed funds. Vanguard Growth and Income, ranked "1" by Value Line, had an expense ratio of just 0.36 percent last year, or roughly one-fourth that of its peers, while returning 35.6 percent and whipping the S&P by more than two points. Vanguard Windsor II, another fund with a "1" rating, charged 0.37 percent last year and returned 32.4 percent.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Top Soccer Clubs Offer Aid to UEFA

SOCCER Six major European soccer clubs will take part in UEFA's bid to reform its club competitions and stage off a breakaway European super league, the governing body of European soccer said Friday.

Senior officials from Juventus of Italy, Liverpool of England, Bayern Munich of Germany, Ajax Amsterdam of the Netherlands, FC Porto of Portugal and Olympique Lyonnais of France all are to attend the first meeting of a specially-created task force on Monday in Geneva. Senior UEFA officials and representatives from national leagues in England, Germany and Italy are also to sit on the 14-member panel.

UEFA created the task force to find ways of restructuring its tournaments in response to plans by Media Partners, a Milan-based company, to start up a European super-league competition. The committee is expected to make initial recommendations before Christmas. (AP)

Arsenal Pursuing Swede

SOCCER Arsenal's coach, Arsene Wenger, is set to hire the Swedish striker Fredrik Ljungberg in a £3 million (\$5 million) transfer from Halmstad, according to the player's agent.

Ljungberg, part of the Sweden team that beat England, 2-1, in the Euro 2000 qualifier at Stockholm last Saturday, was expected to undergo a medical examination on Friday before the deal was complete.

Arsenal, the defending FA Cup and Premier League double champion, has recruited the 21-year-old striker to replace the England international Ian Wright, who was sold to West Ham in the offseason as the Gunners attempted to lure the Dutch striker Patrick Kluivert from AC Milan.

Vinzenzo Morabito, Ljungberg's agent, said the deal was a "100 percent certainty." (AP)

New Owner for Marlins?

BASEBALL A commodities trader, John Henry, said he had reached a tentative agreement to buy the Florida Marlins from their founding owner, Wayne Huizenga, for \$150 million.

Henry, 48, also said he was likely to ask Mickey Arison, the owner of the NBA's Miami Heat, to invest in the Marlins after the deal was done. The Miami Herald reported Friday.

"I have a handshake deal with Huizenga Holdings' president Rick Rothen to buy the team," said Henry. (AP)

Marino and Dolphins Set Sights on the Bills

A Special Rivalry in Miami's Home Opener

By Thomas George
New York Times Service

Buffalo (0-1) at Miami (1-0) Buffalo used to love to play Miami. The rivalry was special and remains unique. The Bills are 15-12 against Dan Marino, the only AFC East team with a winning record against him, and Andre Reed has three 100-yard receiving games in his last five versus Miami. But the Dolphins are 24-4 in home openers since 1970 and have more of everything than Buffalo on offense, defense and special teams. Prediction: Dolphins, 27-9.

Baltimore (0-1) at N.Y. Jets (0-1) What explanation is there for Glen Foley throwing 58 passes against the 49ers last week? Well, he completed 30 for 415

NFL MATCHUPS

passing yards. Nice numbers. But the Jets lost. And another week of lackluster running will cost them again. Ravens, 17-10.

Kansas City (1-0) at Jacksonville (1-0) If the Kansas City offense clicks, then this game will be a joy. It could be a preview of the AFC championship game. Both teams have stellar defenses, offenses, special teams, coaches and stars. Both play physical, hard football. Jacksonville is a touch faster. But the Kansas City defense is already in sync. Chiefs, 16-13.

San Diego (1-0) at Tennessee (1-0) Rodney Harrison is a safety. He is supposed to defend passes. He does. But he also blitzes the quarterback and gets there. At least, he did against Buffalo last week, gaining three sacks. Steve McNair and the Oilers won't be so easy, and McNair will take this shootout with the rookie sensation Ryan Leaf personally. Oilers, 37-20.

Carolina (0-1) at New Orleans (1-0) The Panthers felt so horrible losing at home to Atlanta last week, so they should be fired up. Plus, the Saints' quarterback Billy Joe Hobert is lost for the season due to injury and that kills their chances. Panthers, 20-10.

Minnesota (1-0) at St. Louis (0-1) The Rams actually outgained New Orleans in yardage by 323 to 234 but lost last week. They are 18-31 since moving to St. Louis and are still having a mess of a time turning the corner. And there is something special in the air with these Vikings. Vikings, 21-17.

Philadelphia (0-1) at Atlanta (1-0) The Falcons' kicker, Morten Andersen, ranks second in scoring among active players. He still has a booming leg and gives his team an added dimension. Coach Dan Reeves is changing attitudes in the Falcons' locker room. These guys are learning how to win, especially in close games. Falcons, 17-14.

Tampa Bay (0-1) at Green Bay (1-0) Green Bay has gotten the better of this series and has won 24 consecutive home games. The league record is 28. Brett

Favre has 24 touchdown passes and only 6 interceptions against the Bucs. He's a big part of the difference. Somewhere, this string for Tampa Bay must end. Not here. Packers, 23-10.

Chicago (0-1) at Pittsburgh (1-0) The Steelers' Kordell Stewart threw for 173 yards against Baltimore last week, completing 14 of 27 passes. In the 4th quarter, he completed 4 of 5 for 62 yards including the game-winning 20-yard touchdown strike to Charles Johnson. The Steelers are built for 4th quarter stamina all the way around. The Bears are not. Steelers, 26-6.

Cincinnati (0-1) at Detroit (0-1) The Bengals are going nowhere if they can't force more action on defense. And the Lions' quarterback Scott Mitchell and their star running back Barry Sanders are ready to break loose. Lions, 33-16.

Arizona (0-1) at Seattle (1-0) The Seahawks' rookie back Ahman Green is averaging 16.7 yards per carry. That's right, per rush. The Seahawks' receiver Joey Galloway is averaging 23.7 yards per catch. That's right, per catch. Seattle, under the direction of quarterback Warren Moon, can roll it up on anyone. Seahawks, 30-13.

Dallas (1-0) at Denver (1-0) Denver has won 17 consecutive regular season home games. It has Terrell Davis and John Elway back, packing that 1-2, run-pass, Super Bowl punch. It has won 21 straight when leading after three quarters. It has it all. Or so it seems. Dallas wants some of that luster back. Watch Emmitt Smith outrun Davis. That turns the game. Cowboys, 24-21.

N.Y. Giants (1-0) at Oakland (0-1) The Giants' defense has held 7 of its last 9 opponents to 20 or fewer points and usually wins with defense. But it tackles an upscale passing attack against the Raiders. The Giants answer is the blitz. Can the Raiders hit enough bombs to make them pay? Almost. Giants, 20-19.

Indianapolis (0-1) at New England (1-0) There goes Peyton Manning in his road debut, and it could get ugly on Sunday night. The Patriots seek to right their ship after sinking in Denver last week and Manning is the target. They will blitz him and attempt to confuse him with a variety of disguised coverages. All around, the Patriots will attack. Patriots, 30-13.

San Francisco (1-0) at Washington (0-1) We are quite familiar with the 49ers: Super Bowls, Steve Young, Jerry Rice, big plays, big stars. We are not so familiar with this brand of Redskins: Glory lost, lackluster quarterback play, punctured defense and an awful debut last week against the Giants. Trent Green replaces Gus Frerotte at quarterback for the Redskins on Monday night. No doubt, there will be other changes, ranging in subtle to major, as this game unfolds for Washington. It is huge for them. And if they aren't careful, they could easily be 1-7 at mid-season. 49ers, 28-16.



Mark Philippoussis after winning a tiebreaker in the fifth set to defeat Thomas Johansson. Philippoussis is to meet Carlos Moya in the semifinals.

Albert's Back in Business

By Richard Sandomir
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Marv Albert, the once-famed U.S. sportscaster who was fired last year after being charged with sexual assault, is scheduled to return to work Monday as host of the SportsDesk program at the MSG cable network in New York.

It will be exactly a year since Albert last worked, when he called a National Football League game between the New York Giants and the Baltimore Ravens for the NBC television network.

After that came a trial for sexual assault, a guilty plea to a misdemeanor charge, psychotherapy and exile. The MSG Network rehired Albert in July, however, and he has been planning and rehearsing for his new job since early August.

On Wednesday, Albert married Heather Faulkner, his longtime fiancée.

"This is a good time," he said Thursday by telephone, from his honeymoon. "I've been going into the office for the last three weeks, getting the feel of going into a studio again. The toughest part is the mechanics. I had to learn to use a computer."

"When I was doing the sports at Channel 4, I used an old Royal typewriter," Albert added, referring to the NBC channel in New York.

The new SportsDesk program features

tures technology capable of making it seem as if Albert is on-site, at arenas near and far. But "we won't be fooling anyone," he said. "I'll be at the desk in the studio."

The show is being revamped around Albert's ability to interview players and announcers live from the games, and studio guests when possible. "They'll be brief," Albert said. "You've got to keep things moving."

Mike McCarthy, the show's executive producer, said Albert had been "very focused, very passionate, even a pain in the neck," during rehearsals and planning.

Still, he said, these are changed times. "You can't say it's like nothing has changed," he said. "Marv's a different guy. The last time he was here, he was a star, with the shades on, floating in for a game at 6 o'clock."

Albert is a different commodity than he once was. His legal woes turned him from famous to notorious. His renown was a factor in MSG's decision to hire him to anchor the revamped SportsDesk show. He is expected to draw a curious viewership early on.

"There'll be a certain audience for Monday night," McCarthy said. "It's the folks who continue on Tuesday night that I'm interested in."

Albert said, "I hope people accept me, sure, but it's not in my control. I certainly hope people judge what they see."

For Sampras, A Chance to Settle Scores

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Pete Sampras stands on the cusp of history in the U.S. Open. Patrick Rafter, the defending champion, stands in his way.

In what promises to be the showcase match of a tournament that so far has provided few surprises or dramatic battles, Sampras and Rafter will meet in a men's semifinal that will have the feel of a final.

The last 11 days have seemed little more than a setup for Saturday's match, which features two of the best serve-

U.S. OPEN TENNIS

and-volleyers of their generation. It pits the hottest players in men's tennis against each other.

And it could provide revenge for Sampras — not only against an opponent who defeated him a month ago in Cincinnati, but also against critics who had written him off as an over-the-hill champion.

"It's time," Sampras said. "This is the U.S. Open. This is the big moment of the year for me. This is what the year boils down to for me."

Mark Philippoussis won a thrilling tiebreaker in the fifth set to defeat Thomas Johansson late Thursday night in a match featuring 50 aces, setting up an encounter with Carlos Moya in the other semifinal.

Philippoussis slammed 30 aces, including 11 in the final set, in his 4-6, 6-3, 6-7 (3-7), 6-3, 7-6 (12-10) win over Johansson, who had 20 aces and 15 double faults. Philippoussis hit one serve at 132 mph, only to be outdone by his opponent — whose 136 mph serve was the fastest of the tournament.

The other quarterfinal lasted just 90 minutes. Moya, the No. 10 seed, who won this year's French Open and was finalist at the Australian Open, made just 15 unforced errors in a 6-4, 6-3, 6-3 win over Magnus Larsson.

Until this year, Moya was known mostly as a clay-court player. His results at the Australian and U.S. Opens show how he has developed into a top player on all surfaces.

The women's semifinals were set for Friday, with top-seeded Martina Hingis, facing No. 3 Jana Novotna and an all-American match between No. 2 Lindsay Davenport and No. 5 Venus Williams.

When Sampras lost in the second round of the French Open in late May, the whispers about the end of his reign atop men's tennis became louder.

Sampras' stretch as No. 1 in the world briefly had been broken earlier in the year by Marcelo Rios, and Sampras appeared vulnerable for the first time in years.

But he won a record-tying fifth Wimbledon title in July, and is within two victories of two more records — Jimmy Connors' mark of five U.S. Open titles and Roy Emerson's record of 12 Grand Slam singles titles.

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL

MAJOR LEAGUE STANDINGS

AMERICAN LEAGUE	W	L	Pct.	GB
EAST DIVISION				
New York Yankees	82	41	.715	0
Boston Red Sox	62	62	.500	20
Toronto Blue Jays	78	54	.591	12
Baltimore Orioles	72	60	.543	18
Tampa Bay Devil Rays	56	68	.448	26
CENTRAL DIVISION				
Cleveland Indians	68	64	.515	0
Chicago White Sox	68	64	.515	0
Kansas City Royals	65	79	.451	15
Minnesota Twins	66	68	.493	14
Detroit Tigers	55	81	.404	26
NATIONAL LEAGUE				
EAST DIVISION				
Atlanta Braves	82	45	.648	0
New York Mets	78	54	.591	8
Philadelphia Phillies	68	74	.481	18
Montreal Expos	57	85	.400	29
Florida Marlins	48	79	.381	34
CENTRAL DIVISION				
St. Louis Cardinals	84	53	.612	0
Chicago Cubs	82	45	.591	12
St. Louis Cardinals	72	74	.493	21
San Diego Padres	68	74	.481	21
San Francisco Giants	67	80	.454	22
Pittsburgh Pirates	66	79	.452	23
WEST DIVISION				
San Diego Padres	92	25	.785	0
San Francisco Giants	79	67	.541	13
Los Angeles Dodgers	75	72	.510	17

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

AMERICAN LEAGUE	W	L	Pct.	GB
EAST DIVISION				
New York Yankees	82	41	.715	0
Boston Red Sox	62	62	.500	20
Toronto Blue Jays	78	54	.591	12
Baltimore Orioles	72	60	.543	18
Tampa Bay Devil Rays	56	68	.448	26
CENTRAL DIVISION				
Cleveland Indians	68	64	.515	0
Chicago White Sox	68	64	.515	0
Kansas City Royals	65	79	.451	15
Minnesota Twins	66	68	.493	14
Detroit Tigers	55	81	.404	26
NATIONAL LEAGUE				
EAST DIVISION				
Atlanta Braves	82	45	.648	0
New York Mets	78	54	.591	8
Philadelphia Phillies	68	74	.481	18
Montreal Expos	57	85	.400	29
Florida Marlins	48	79	.381	34
CENTRAL DIVISION				
St. Louis Cardinals	84	53	.612	0
Chicago Cubs	82	45	.591	12
St. Louis Cardinals	72	74	.493	21
San Diego Padres	68	74	.481	21
San Francisco Giants	67	80	.454	22
Pittsburgh Pirates	66	79	.452	23
WEST DIVISION				
San Diego Padres	92	25	.785	0
San Francisco Giants	79	67	.541	13
Los Angeles Dodgers	75	72	.510	17

AMERICAN LEAGUE

W	L	Pct.	GB
82	41	.715	0
62	62	.500	20
78	54	.591	12
72	60	.543	18
56	68	.448	26

NATIONAL LEAGUE

W	L	Pct.	GB
82	45	.648	0
78	54	.591	8
68	74	.481	18
57	85	.400	29
48	79	.381	34

SOCCER

W	L	Pct.	GB
82	41	.715	0
62	62	.500	20
78	54	.591	12
72	60	.543	18
56	68	.448	26

THE WEEK AHEAD

W	L	Pct.	GB
82	41	.715	0
62	62	.500	20
78	54	.591	12
72	60	.543	18
56	68	.448	26

TRANSITIONS

W	L	Pct.	GB
82	41	.715	0
62	62	.500	20
78	54	.591	12
72	60	.543	18
56	68	.448	26

BASEBALL

W	L	Pct.	GB
82	41	.715	0
62	62	.500	20
78	54	.591	12
72	60	.543	18
56	68	.448	26

BASEBALL

W	L	Pct.	GB
82	41	.715	0
62	62	.500	20
78	54	.591	12
72	60	.543	18
56	68	.448	26

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SPORTS

Kile's 2-Hitter Puts Finish on Rockies' Sweep

The Associated Press
Darryl Kile pitched a two-hitter and Dante Bichette homered as the Colorado Rockies completed a four-game sweep of the Florida Marlins with a 3-1 victory in Denver.

Kile, 0-2 in his last three starts at Coors Field, allowed only a bunt single by Luis Castillo in the third inning and a triple by Todd Dunwoody leading off

BASEBALL ROUNDUP

the ninth in Thursday night's game. Dunwoody scored on a groundout by Edgar Renteria. Kile (11-15) struck out four and walked two.

Bichette, who had a pair of hits and extended his hitting streak to 12 games, began Colorado's sixth with his 21st homer of the season, a line drive over the left-field fence off the Florida starter, Rafael Medina.

Medina (1-3), in his fifth start since being recalled from Triple-A on Aug. 19, worked seven innings, allowing three runs on nine hits.

Dodgers 4, Padres 3 In San Diego, Kevin Brown pitched six perfect innings before allowing four runs in the seventh as Los Angeles rallied to ruin yet another San Diego no-hit bid.

Brown (18-6) failed to become the NL's first 19-game winner, but he did set San Diego's single-season strikeout record with 238 by fanning 11.

Chan Ho Park (13-8) won for the eighth time in nine decisions. He struck out 10 and walked a career-high seven, allowing five hits and three runs in seven innings.

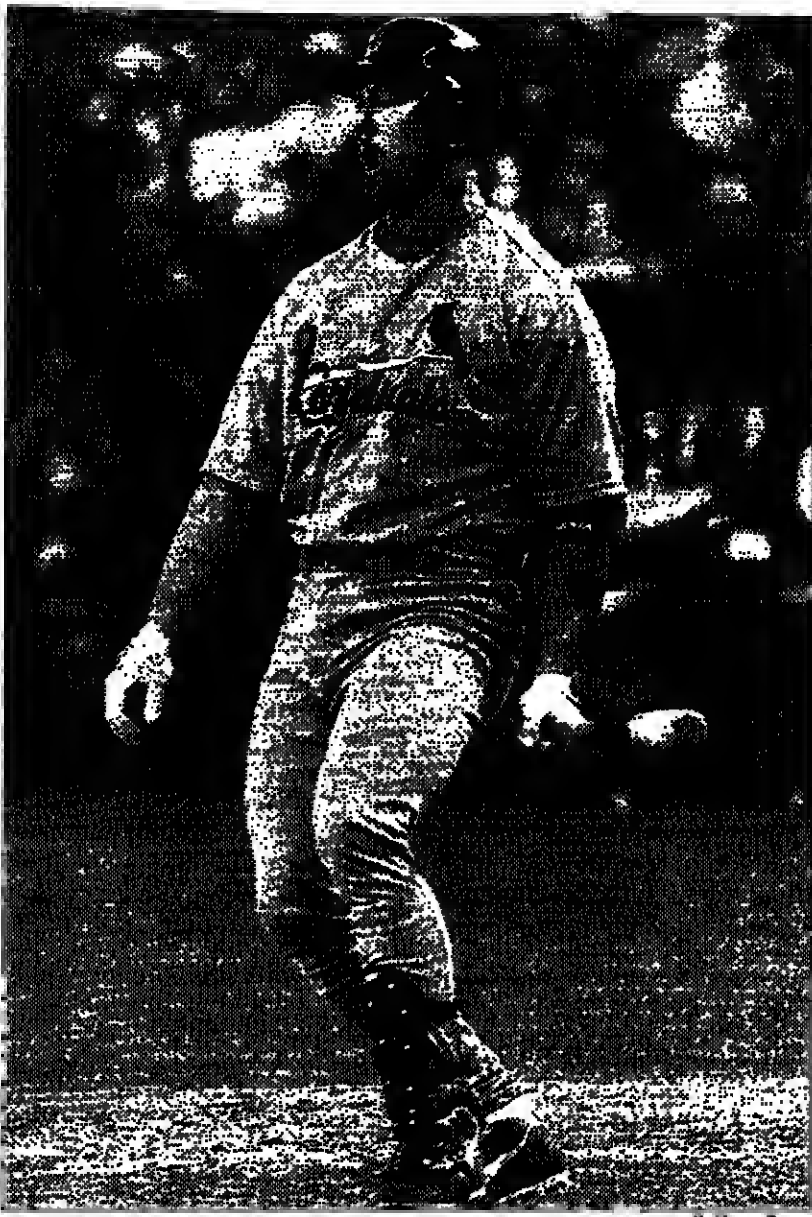
Cardinals 8, Reds 7 Mark McGwire tied Barry Bonds' NL record of 151 walks by drawing two more, but his record home-run total stayed at 62 as visiting St. Louis beat Cincinnati. He also struck out twice and popped out, leaving him without a homer in two games since breaking Roger Maris' record.

Braves 7, Expos 4 In Montreal, Javy Lopez hit a three-run homer and Kevin Millwood became the third Atlanta pitcher to win 15 games as the Braves ended a three-game losing streak.

Lopez hit his 33rd home run, a shot off Mike Thurman (3-4) in the third inning that gave the Braves a 5-1 lead.

Millwood (15-8) allowed four runs and nine hits in 6 1/2 innings. Tom Glavine has won 18 games for the Braves and Greg Maddux has won 17.

Cubs 5, Pirates 2 In Chicago, Sammy Sosa's home run drought reached five games, but that did not keep the Cubs from beating Pittsburgh to stay tied with the New York Mets in the NL wild-card



Mark McGwire letting his feelings show after striking out in the third inning in Cincinnati. He went hitless, leaving his home run total at 62.

chase. Sosa, stuck on 58 homers and trailing Mark McGwire by four, went 0-for-2 with a pair of walks.

Chicago got strong pitching from Kevin Tapani and key hits from Mark Grace and Brant Brown in a five-run third inning. Tapani (18-7) allowed eight hits in eight innings and won his sixth straight decision.

Mets 7, Phillies 5 Mike Piazza continued his torrid hitting with a three-run homer and a double, and Al Leiter pitched seven strong innings as the visiting Mets defeated the Phillies.

The Mets took a 5-0 lead in the first inning on Piazza's 30th homer and Rey Ordonez' two-run double. In his last 15 games, Piazza is 27-for-50 (.540) with seven home runs and 19 RBIs.

Leiter (15-5) gave up two runs and two hits, struck out eight hitters and walked two in six innings, an average only three years ago.

Astros 7, Brewers 4 In Houston, Shane Reynolds tied a career high with 12 strikeouts and hit a two-run single as the Astros won their sixth straight.

Houston lowered the magic number for clinching their second straight NL Central title to four.

In the American League:

Yankees 8, Blue Jays 5 In New York, Paul O'Neill hit two home runs and the Yankees overcame another shaky outing by Andy Pettitte.

With their 103rd victory, the Yankees, who clinched the AL East on Wednesday in Boston, opened a 21-game advantage over the second-place Red Sox, the largest lead a Yankee team has ever enjoyed at any time in a season. Pettitte (16-9) allowed five runs in six innings.

Jose Canseco hit a three-run homer for Toronto, which fell five games behind the Boston in the AL wild-card race.

Learning to Live in Murdoch's Realm

International Herald Tribune
BOSTON — Alex Ferguson's job should be safe at Manchester United, at least for another year.

Ferguson has easily been the best club manager in England in the 1990s. But from now on, he will be working for Rupert Murdoch, or, shall we say, the presence of Rupert Murdoch. The accepted logic of professional sports will no longer be applied. For proof, see the 1998 Los Angeles Dodgers.

Before this season, Murdoch spent \$311 million to buy the Dodgers, who in the 1970s and 1980s were known as the best franchise in American sports. The Dodgers had been owned by the O'Malley family, who in the 1950s had moved the team from Brooklyn, sending a watershed signal to fans that baseball was indeed a business, not just a sport.

Before Murdoch's arrival, the Dodgers were known as a cathedral of stability.

Murdoch attended Opening Day at Dodger Stadium in April, where the home team's best player, the catcher Mike Piazza, was greeted with a thunderstorm of booing from his own fans. It was explained to Murdoch that Piazza, entering the final year of his contract, was demanding \$100 million from the Dodgers.

Other owners in American sport have in the past been intimidated by demands of such madness. Murdoch, to his credit, would not be bullied by an employee of whom he had never heard.

The method of Murdoch's response was nonetheless unorthodox. In May, one of his television operatives — Murdoch owns the Fox networks in America — was in Miami negotiating a possible TV sports deal involving the Florida Marlins baseball team. It seems that the conversation gravitated toward baseball

talk, which is normal among a couple of baseball fans, but this particular dialogue must have been especially provocative because the two executives concluded by shaking hands on a trade of Piazza for three players from the Marlins.

The general manager of the Dodgers, Fred Claire, their expert on all baseball matters, was informed of the trade an hour before it was consummated.

That kind of thing is probably out of the question to happen to Murdoch at Manchester United. He is too strong, too credible and highly respected, to have his job done for him by a dilettante superior.

In hindsight, the trade was like an abstraction of El Nino visited upon the Dodgers. Their payroll jumped up to more than \$57 million and yet the team was worse than ever. This convinced the new president of the Dodgers, Bob Grumman, an accountant who admittedly is no expert himself when it comes to baseball, to announce in June the firings of Claire and the field manager, Bill Russell.

Never had the Dodgers ever fired their manager. It took Murdoch three months to undo that tradition.

Murdoch's people are also considering whether or not to knock down Dodger Stadium in favor of a new, more profitable stadium with luxury boxes, restaurants and shopping.

The one similarity between the Dodgers and Manchester United is their value to Murdoch as TV commodities. Murdoch bought the Dodgers in order to provide programming for Fox in Southern California. Murdoch also owns a regional network of sports channels throughout the United States, and by

huying up the Dodgers, as well as signing up the exclusive rights to televise the Lakers and other area clubs, he knocked out the plans of Disney to create a competing regional sports network.

In fairness to Murdoch, the Dodgers were in need of an overhaul. They hadn't contended for a championship since the World Series in 1988.

Manchester United is obviously in a much stronger position. It is also a much more important asset to Murdoch than the Dodgers. Manchester United is starting its own digital TV channel this season, with the apparent goal of controlling its own TV rights early in the next millennium. Furthermore, now that he is controlling the biggest club in England, Murdoch will be better able to join with Silvio Berlusconi in creating a new European Super League for more money than UEFA, the federation of European soccer, can now fashion.

So if the recent purchase of Dwight Yorke doesn't solve Manchester United's goal-scoring problems, and if the club fails to finish first or second in the English Premiership, thereby losing its place in the Champions League next season, then Murdoch — or, shall we emphasize, the presence of Murdoch — is likely to grow restless.

The truth about Murdoch is that he is no longer a man so much as he is an attitude. He owns so much and has so many projects in the works in so many different parts of the world, that he probably won't pay much attention to Manchester United — unless things go wrong.

Ian Thomson is a senior writer at Sports Illustrated magazine.

Commonwealth Games Open in Malaysia

The Associated Press
KUALA LUMPUR — The largest Commonwealth Games ever opened Friday night with brass bands, dazzling fireworks and waves of dancers at a stadium packed with 100,000 people.

Neither Malaysia's economic recession nor a political challenge to Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad from a former deputy, Anwar Ibrahim, could dim the inaugural spectacle as the Games — which will feature athletes from 70 countries — came to Asia for the first time.

Before an audience that included the International Olympic Committee's president, Juan Antonio Samaranch, a welcoming message from

Queen Elizabeth II, the nominal head of the Commonwealth, was read by her son, Prince Edward of Britain.

The Commonwealth Games claim to be the most important sporting event after the Olympics, drawing together countries once linked as parts of the far-flung British Empire but now divided by culture, geography and economic status.

Formerly known as the Empire Games, the event began in 1930 in Hamilton, Ontario, with just a few dozen athletes from 10 visiting teams. The 1994 event in Victoria, British Columbia, had 3,200 athletes.

Despite a crushing financial crisis, Malaysia has relished its role as host.

Even as it scrapped billions of dollars worth of civil works, dams and railroad projects, it made sure the event was the largest Games ever by insisting on the inclusion of six new sports.

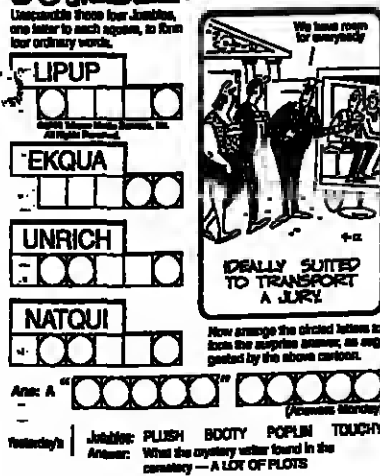
A 1.7 billion ringgit (\$449.7 million) stadium was completed just ahead of the Games, a commuter rail link was finished and more than a dozen other sports venues were built. Mr. Mahathir ensured that a new international airport was ready to receive athletes and officials.

"We are treating the Commonwealth Games opening ceremony as a window to Malaysia," said the country's sports minister, Minister Muhyiddin Yassin. "We have done our best."

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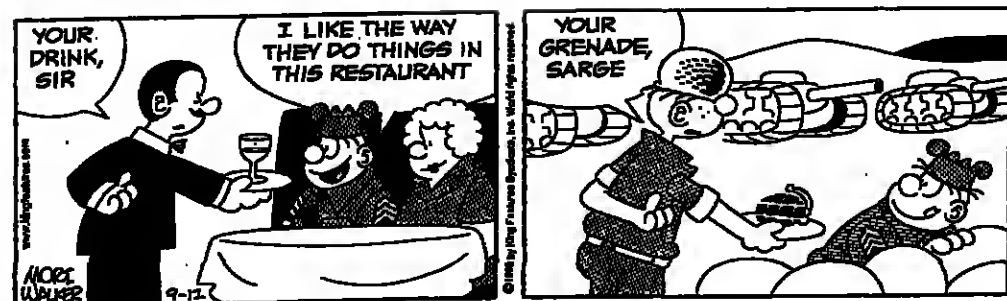
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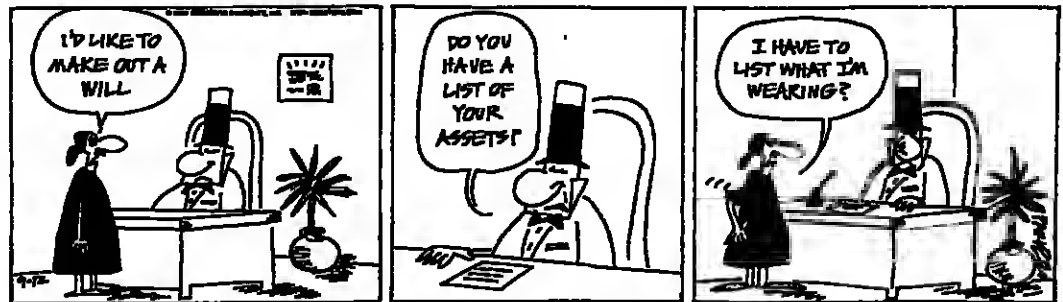
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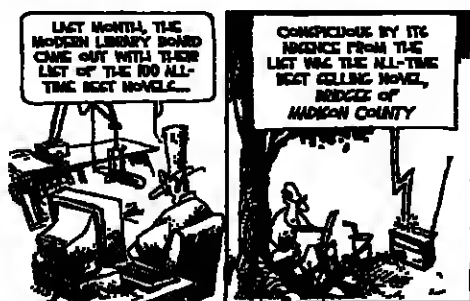
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DAVE BARRY

Ah, Fountain of Youth

MIAMI — I was at a party hosted by a younger couple, defined as "a couple that had not yet been born when I started worrying about cholesterol." You will never guess whose music these young people were playing: Bobby Darin's. Yes, Bobby Darin, hep cat swinger from my youth, is cool again!

No doubt you've read about how the Hot New Trend among "with it" 20-something people is to eschew the rock scene and pretend they're swank sophisticates living three or four decades ago — drinking martinis, going to nightclubs, dressing like the late Frank Sinatra (not the women, of course; they're dressing like the late Dean Martin), voting for Dwight Eisenhower, using words like "eschew," etc. This makes me wonder: If old things are cool, could I become cool again?

I have not felt remotely cool for a long time, thanks largely to the relentless efforts of my teenage son, whose goal in life is to make me feel 3,500 years old. We'll be in the car, and he'll say,

I am roughly equal, on the Coolness Scale, to Bob Dole.

"You wanna hear my new CD?" And I, flattered that he thinks his old man might like the same music he does, will say "Sure!" So he increases the sound-system volume setting from "4" to "Meteor Impact," and he puts in a CD by a band with a name like "Fustile," and the next thing I know nuclear bass notes have blown out the car windows and activated both the driver and passenger side air bags, and I'm writing on the floor, screaming for mercy with jets of blood spurting three feet from my ears. My son then ejects the CD, smiling contentedly, knowing he has purchased a winner.

My point is that, for some time, I have viewed myself as being roughly equal, on the Coolness Scale, to Bob Dole. And then, suddenly, at this party, these 20-somethings were playing Bobby Darin, a singer from my youth, an era known as "The Era When There Were a Lot of Singers Named Bobby and One Named Freddy" (Bobby Sherman, Bobby Vee, Bobby Vinton, Bobby Rydell, Elvis "Bobby" Presley and Freddy "Boom Boom" Cannon).

I KNOW Bobby Darin's music. Whenever I hear his swinging version of "Oh My Darlin' Clementine" I snap my fingers in a happening "give" manner and sing right along with these immortal lyrics: "You know she would rouse up / Wake all of them crows up."

(They don't write them like that anymore. They can't. They have been medicated.)

I remember going to a record hop — that's right, an actual record hop — in the gymnasium of Harold C. Crittenden Junior High in Armonk, New York, where they played "Mack the Knife" maybe 14 times and we all danced the Jitterbug. The Jitterbug was a dance wherein you remained in actual, physical contact with your partner — what kids now call "touch dancing." I grew up at the tail end of the touch-dancing era; after that, we started doing nontouch dances — the Jerk, the Boogaloo, the Cosine, the Funky Downtown Rutabaga, etc., wherein you strayed several feet from your partner.

Later in the '60s, songs got longer and dance standards got looser, and you often lost visual contact altogether with your partner, sometimes winding up, days later, in completely different states. This was followed by the disco era, during which you and your partner might touch briefly, but only for the purpose of exchanging narcotics; which in turn was followed by the "mosh pit" concept of dancing, wherein you dance simultaneously with many people, the object being to inflict head injuries on them.

So for decades, the only time you saw touch dancing was at wedding receptions, when the band — as required by federal wedding-reception law — played "Bad, Bad Leroy Brown," and guests age 73 and older would huddle onto the floor and do the Fox Trot while younger people gyrated around them.

But now touch dancing is back, and I'm excited about it, because — ask anybody who has seen me at a wedding reception after the bar opens — I can still do the Jitterbug. I can get out there on the floor and really whirl my partner around. Granted, sometimes my partner winds up face-down in the wedding cake, but that is not the point. The point is that, despite what my son thinks, maybe I am cool again.

I might put a tube and a half of Brylcreem in my hair and go to a swank nightclub. I'd saunter up to the bar, order a dry martini and settle back to soak up the scene; then, when a really "swinging" song came on, I'd get to my feet and "wow" the younger generation when I, in a suave and sophisticated manner, threw up on my shoes, because martinis make me sick. Then I'd go to bed, because I'm 3,500 years old.

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Sarajevo Director Emerges From 'Underground'

By Joan Dupont
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Emir Kusturica, born in Sarajevo, has made films on the banks of the Danube and in the Arizona desert, won prizes at festivals and taught in New York. He may never go home.

"My best friend in Sarajevo told me, 'Don't come back, they'll kill you,'" Kusturica said. In 1995, "Underground," which depicts Yugoslavia's chaotic modern history, won the Palme d'Or at Cannes, but when the film opened in Paris, some critics attacked it as pro-Serb; the rumor stunted the film's international career and did not help his reputation at home.

To make "Underground," the director explained in an interview, "I had to survive the last 10 years, what it was like to leave Yugoslavia, and to learn the lesson of the immigrant. But my complex vision, this international view, was judged politically incorrect by certain French philosophers." The campaign against the film made him crazy, he said, and he swore he would never direct another.

Three years later, Kusturica has emerged from the dark aftermath of "Underground" with "Black Cat, White Cat," a comedy set near Belgrade and made with professional and amateur actors brimming with Gypsy gangsters, music and magic, weddings, funerals and grandfathers who die and revive. "Gypsies and gangsters are international, and so am I. People ask me, 'Why do you always play with the same themes?' It's like asking David Hockney, 'Why do you always paint swimming pools?'"

He calls "Black Cat, White Cat" a new beginning. "This is a movie about how people never die. When my father died six years ago, I started thinking about death. Now I want to film the things that excite me about life."

He got the idea from a story he heard, about a grandfather dying in the midst of plans for a wedding and how the family decided to go



Emir Kusturica, left, who once swore to give up making films, on the set of "Black Cat, White Cat."

on with the ceremony anyway.

In "Black Cat," not one, but two grandfathers expire and are put on ice in the attic while the band plays on, the bride escapes, her gangster brother shoots up the countryside, the roof collapses and a pig calmly munches away on a decrepit car. "This is, in a way, a vision of my country, the pig eating a Trabant."

Starting with "Do You Remember Dolly Bell?" (Venice Golden Lion, 1981) and "When Father Was Away on Business" (Cannes Palme d'Or, 1985), set in the Yugoslavia of Tito after World War II, Kusturica's films with their crowded imagery — tables that levitate, brides that fly — have delved into family chaos and touched on the nerve of a country in turmoil. "The Time of the Gypsies" (Cannes Best Director Prize, 1989), showed the filmmaker's magic way with Gypsy superstition and kitsch.

"I grew up on the edge of a suburb, near Gypsies," he said, "and I always thought they were an aristocratic people."

Even when he went to film "Arizona Dream" in the desert, he crammed the screen, not just with Cadillac and flying machines, but with a host of images from his creative home-cooking.

"I had to learn how to match up the two worlds I lived in. Then, when I made 'Underground,' I found new ways to say what I felt about my country. My understanding of the world and what happened in my own: Yugoslavia was formed by the Allies after the war, and then destroyed by the Allies when they had no more need and saw no reason to fight for a multiethnic country. The bottom line is, I had been in Sarajevo when war broke out, I never would have made 'Underground.'"

"Black Cat," which opens in

France at the end of September, is being screened at the Venice and New York Film festivals.

"I expect a good reaction," he said. Since his first prize at Cannes, the filmmaker has been a favorite with the international press that discovered him, tall, pale and disheveled, a refugee from the collapsing Eastern world, with his loopy walk and halting English. His film spoke for him. Milos Forman got him a teaching job at Columbia in New York, and his life away from home began.

Today he is tanned, fit, with glint in his eye and a jaw that speaks of determination. Although he lives in the Marais area of Paris, he prefers English to French, an English that he still gropes for, diving for the latest and most correct expression, coming up with a mix.

"I'm into literature. I am writing a book for a French publisher, in Serbian. It will be 12 stories that

cover important times in my life — everything I've heard from my family, the sources of whatever I do."

Born into a family of nonpracticing Muslims, the director says his father's background was Serbian. "My ancestors converted when the Ottoman Turks invaded. I always say I am Yugoslav, but when you say that today, people say, this is a dinosaur speaking. His home environment was very Slav, he says, with multilingual influences. "I always read a lot; I get instant images from literature."

"Arizona Dream" was inspired by "Catcher in the Rye"; "Black Cat, White Cat" by Isaac Babel's short stories. "Babel wrote about criminals with a fatal flaw, that's what got me. There were criminals like that around where we lived, emotional men with big hearts, the heroes of my youth. I think that today, we're less bound by ideology and religion — utopia is out — and we're ready to accept evil properly."

He loves his gangster hero, played by Srdan Todorovic, an actor from Belgrade, and enjoys Quentin Tarantino's films, with their campy criminals. As much as he dislikes most Hollywood movies and what he calls "the artificial world of cinema," he admires American films of the '30s, '40s and '50s, "melodramas that show great human emotions."

For the first time he will adapt a film from a book, shooting D.M. Thomas's "The White Hotel" in Montenegro with Juliette Binoche as the exalted heroine. "Good material," he agreed, "all my characters are hysterical anyway, or make them hysterical."

He doesn't know why he became a director instead of a writer or musician. "But I remember how my mother used to walk five to six miles to find what she wanted at the market. When she appeared in shops miles away from home, people would say, 'Hello neighbor.' I think I'm like her, and maybe this persistence is more important than talent these days."

PEOPLE



Madonna, the top winner, with one of the six figurines she took home from MTV Video Music Awards.

THE stage turned into a soapbox at the MTV Video Music Awards as a Beastie Boys member condemned U.S. foreign policy and the R&B singer Wyndolfe Jean attacked the film "Stella Got Her Groove Back" for an AIDS joke. Madonna was the top winner with six awards, including video of the year for "Ray of Light," in an evening that was about as political as an Academy Awards ceremony. Madonna, who sang "Ray of Light" in a virtually transparent shirt, won five trophies for the "Ray" video and one for her "Frozen" video, while the Backstreet Boys won the best group video award for "Everybody (Backstreet's Back)." Jean accepted the R&B video award for "Gone Till November."

A judge has found Alec Wildenstein, the art dealer whose family trades in Old Masters, in contempt of court and ordered his arrest for failing to pay his estranged wife, Jocelyne Wildenstein, \$452,000 in court-ordered alimony. But the New York State Supreme Court delayed imposing the order until Wednesday because

Wildenstein was believed to be out of the country. The Wildensteins, whose marital problems have generated almost as much interest as the considerable cosmetic surgery Mrs. Wildenstein has undergone, are divorcing after nearly 20 years of marriage, a luxurious lifestyle and travel between their New York town house, ranch in Kenya and chateau in France.

The writer Isabel Allende is the recipient of the 1998 Dorothy and Lillian Gish Prize, given annually for excellence in the arts. The award consists of a silver medallion and a cash stipend of about \$200,000. She will receive the award from Homero Aridjis, president of the writers' group International PEN on Oct. 13 in New York. Her first novel, "The House of the Spirits," depicted a brutal period of Chilean history. Her latest book is "Aphrodite: A Memoir of the Senses." Bob Dylan received last year's prize.

The Stone Pony in Asbury Park, New Jersey, is nearing its last ride. The music

club that used to feature New Jersey acts like Bruce Springsteen, Jon Bon Jovi and Southside Johnny is calling it quits and reopening as Vinyl, a dance club. The Stone Pony will go out with a series of shows Sept. 18-20. The owner, Steven Nasar, said bands had become hard-core and crowds too rowdy. "The days of Bruce Springsteen-type of rock and roll are gone," Nasar said. The Stone Pony opened in 1974.

Martha Stewart, the role model for millions of American women, has canceled a segment of her television show that featured President Bill Clinton. The Friday broadcast of her daily show, "Martha Stewart Living," was to have been devoted entirely to a lunch visit by Clinton. Taped in June at Stewart's studio in Westport, Connecticut, the get-together was to have been the crown jewel of the show's sixth-season premiere week. But after Clinton's troubles over his testimony in the Monica Lewinsky affair, the president got the hook from Stewart and her staff.



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